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THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY

ON the sixth of August the citizens of the Mohawk Valley commemorated at Oriskany with appropriate exercises the whole series of events which made that valley so famous and so ill-fated during the Revolution. One hundred years ago on the day and the place of this celebration was fought the most singular battle of the Revolution. But the battle of Oriskany, in spite of its singular features and its important relation to the campaign of 1777 in Northern New York, is one of which history has thus far barely taken cognizance. It was fought on the uttermost borders of the wilderness by rural soldiers, and the brave commander of the Americans died of his wounds before he had time to write an official account of his victory. But for the industrious zeal of such local historians as Stone, Simms, Campbell and Benton we should have lost all clew to its details. It is remarkable that we have to go to British historians for the most comprehensive summary of its effects.

In recalling the forgotten or overlooked importance of the battle of Oriskany, I have the authority of Burgoyne on the one hand and of General Philip Schuyler on the other for the inference that without the successful defense of Fort Stanwix, there could have been no Saratoga. The whole result of the Revolution may therefore be said to have turned upon the campaign against St. Leger, in the Mohawk Valley. The historians of that year have failed to catch and dwell upon this fact. The English historians have more generally appreciated the importance of the St. Leger campaign than our own. This is natural, for in the Whitehall councils of Lord George Germain, where every detail of the expedition was carefully arranged the year before, it was understood that the success of the three-sided campaign against New York might turn upon the success of this branch of it; and Burgoyne, in his defense, did not

hesitate to hint that he might have been saved the necessity of capitulation had he received the expected succor of St. Leger. On the other hand, the Continental Congress from first to last manifested an incomprehensible indifference to the defense of the Mohawk Valley. Neither its deliberations nor its preparations indicate realization of the fact that it was the key to Albany and the Hudson. The valley was left to its fate. At the last moment, when Schuyler, apprised of St. Leger's advance and the Oriskany battle, insisted upon detaching the army of relief under Arnold, he was accused by his council of officers of thick-headedness and treason.

The miscarriage of St. Leger's expedition was due to the miscalculation of the home government which planned it. The force under his command was a picked one, but altogether too small. There were three good reasons to excuse and explain this blunder. First, St. Leger's advance was through an unprotected country and against undisciplined forces; second, it was expected, upon the positive assertions of Sir John Johnson, that at every step of his progress his army would be swelled by a rising tide of Mohawk Valley loyalists, until it should reach Albany, an irresistible force, sweeping all before it, and cutting off the last retreat of the army which held the sources of the Hudson against Burgoyne; third, the alliance of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations was relied upon as insuring a sufficient augmentation of forces and a terribly effective cooperation.

Never did a brilliant plan more miserably miscarry. Each of these three expectations failed in turn. British authorities are silent at the chagrin of the Government over this miscarriage, for it was due almost wholly to the bad judgment of the Government. St. Leger did every thing in the power of a single man to carry out his instructions. At no point in his conduct of the campaign was he open to the criticism of his superiors. The people of the Mohawk Valley execrate the memory of Sir John Johnson with hearty Dutch hatred. But they are nevertheless indebted to his over-sanguine representations and his blinded judgment for the slight preparation made to subdue their valley. The most interesting study which this subject presents may be found in the reasons why these three expectations proved to be false.

Oriskany was the first battle of the revolutionary war in which an untrained militia proved its prowess and availability. I have been much interested in tracing the antecedents of the eight hundred men who rallied to the call of General Nicholas Herkimer, followed him into the ambushade

at Oriskany, stood their ground when assailed by an invisible and savage enemy, and fought for five hours until the field was theirs. History made no record of the names of these men; but from family records and local chronicles we know that the army of General Herkimer consisted of four regiments of the militia of Tryon county, containing barely a hundred men each, and reenforced by a motley crowd of volunteers, among whom were many members of the Committee of Safety, physicians, lawyers, and at least one member of the Legislature. Officers and privates were civilians, though some had tasted of war in the French invasion of '58. With but few exceptions they were farmers, and were chiefly the descendants of the Palatines, who had moved up the valley shortly after the immigration of 1709. The privates were almost to a man land owners or sons of land owners. Frequent Indian raids had rendered the Tryon county farmers familiar with the use of arms. When called together by the proclamation of General Herkimer, July 17, they were harvesting their hay—a war process in itself. In each locality the farmers assembled in bodies, and cut and housed the hay of the farms in routine order, part of the men standing guard with muskets loaded and cocked against a sudden foray of Indians or Tories as the case might be.

In the midst of this martial agriculture came the news that Fort Stanwix was invested. They knew that if they did not succor it their crops would be housed for the benefit of the enemy. They all went. Every loyal farm house was denuded of men. Among the militia at Oriskany were many old men of sixty and young men of sixteen. They went in platoons of families. There were nine members of the Snell family in the battle, of whom seven were buried on the field. There were five Waggoners, five Wollovers, five Bellingers, four Foxes, four Durckells, five Seelers, four Petries, and so through all the list. Grandfathers, fathers, brothers, sons, fought side by side and died together. When this little army, marching haphazard like farmers through the woody defiles that skirted the Mohawk river, found itself suddenly surrounded and cut in two, and heard the forest resound with the savage war whoop, it neither ran nor faltered. Picked troops never found themselves in a situation quite so terrible. When the fate of Napoleon hung upon the household troops of France they charged an enemy that was neither hidden nor savage, that neither fought with horrid yells nor scalped every man who fell. If history afforded any parallel to this feat of a handful of green levies we might forgive her for having so slighted the battle of Oriskany. It is not surprising that Lord George Ger-

main did not include the Tryon county militia in his calculations of the chances, for had he been a better student of history than he was he would have found no record like that of Oriskany.

Again, the battle of Oriskany was the first intimation, couched in such terms as to be unmistakable, of the vast error the British Government was making in its reliance upon the tory element among the colonists for the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Not before had it become thoroughly clear that the revolt was something more than a desultory struggle. The force assigned to Barry St. Leger for the expedition from Oswego was ridiculously disproportionate to its hazard and importance, save upon the single theory that it was to serve merely as a nucleus, to so attract the loyalists that they would roll down the river like an avalanche. His troops were detachments of the 8th and 34th regiments, a body of Hanau Chasseurs, and a company of "Greens," 133 strong, raised by Sir John Johnson from the very country to be invaded, and his witnesses to the tory sentiment of the valley. In all there were 1,700 soldiers, swelled to nearly three times that number of men by Indians and Canadian axemen.

But the error of judgment was not unnatural. Four hundred tories were with Burgoyne, and each one reported his neighbors only waiting a more favorable opportunity to join the King's ranks. Regiments of loyalists were raised without difficulty in the Southern part of the State. Sabine boldly asserts that the tories were in an actual majority in the New York Colony at the outbreak of hostilities. It is not surprising that the ministry should have so believed, for the sympathies of two-thirds of the men of wealth and the landed proprietors were certainly with the Crown. It was natural to suppose that the baronial lords of New York could control the political opinions of their tenantry. And so they often did. In the center of the Mohawk valley lay the vast estates of the Johnsons. Around their fortified manor house clustered a large tenantry of English and Scotch, who were loyalists almost to a man. It is one of the unwritten traditions of the Mohawk valley that Sir William Johnson died of a broken heart; that the struggle in his own mind, where generous instincts were many, between loyalty to the king who had made him all he was, and sympathy with the Colonists in a revolt against a tyranny he knew to be odious, was so severe that life gave way under the strain. Whether this tradition be true or not, it is certain that no such scruples troubled the sons and sons-in-law of the royal Superintendent of Indians. No sooner had the estates descended than

vigorous measures went on to repress the disloyal element in the valley. The local chronicles bear evidence that there were five or six hundred tories in this Mohawk district where the Johnsons resided, and more than a hundred whigs never got together against them. But above this district, towards the head of the valley, England had planted the colony of the Palatines—not unselfishly as many historians write, but to serve as a human wall of protection for the English settlers against the incursions of the French and Indians. Already the homes and crops of the Palatines had been once destroyed. They had no special reason to be loyal to England. Unbiased by ties of blood or affection for a mother country, they judged the crisis upon its merits, and almost to a man they cast their lot with the colonists. Thus it was the Palatines who saved the Mohawk valley. There were exceptions, even among them. As Gouverneur Morris had a brother, Staats, and a brother-in-law, Dr. Isaac Wilkins; so General Herkimer had a brother, Han Yost, and a brother-in-law, Rosecrants. One was a bitter tory, and the other, like a great many of the reverend gentlemen of the revolution, was a neutral with royal sympathies. History has taken a most unphilosophical view of a scene which occurred while Herkimer's little army was marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix. The General was for delay. He seems to have had a premonition of the ambushade that was already prepared for him. But his officers at once suspected his good faith, and bluntly said so. They were thinking of Han Yost and the reverend brother-in-law. The charge of disloyalty was wiped out by Herkimer's blood not many hours after it was made. As a matter of historical fact there was hardly a man in that little band of militia who did not suspect that he was marching between two traitors. At that early stage of the valley-war universal suspicion was a military necessity. There had been no test of an individual sentiment as yet. Oriskany supplied one which lasted. After that the Council of Safety wrote no more letters complaining of the disloyalty of Tryon county, and the Johnsons wrote no more letters to the home government predicting an "uprising" in the Mohawk Valley, and I think I am justified, in view of all the attendant circumstances, in the opinion that if the battle of Oriskany had not been fought, or had terminated differently, the expected tory "uprising" in the valley would have occurred, and the whole situation of 1777 have been reversed.

In the third place, the battle of Oriskany was the first intimation to the British that their Indian alliance was not to be effective in a regular war. They entertained, not unnaturally, an extravagant estimate of the

prowess of the Six Nations. They reckoned them as even more effective than regular British troops in a campaign in a new country, with whose topography and perplexities they were familiar. The whole force of Indians who accompanied St. Leger from Oswego, upwards of one thousand in number, was at Oriskany, and the burden of the battle was upon them. They were led by Thayendanegea—Joseph Brant—Chief of the Mohawks, the ideal Indian, with the quickest wit, the strongest arm, the bravest heart of any chief in the traditions of the Six Nations. They entered the battle with the understanding that no limitations were to be set to their peculiar methods of warfare. For every scalp of a Mohawk Valley farmer brought from the field, the savage at whose belt it hung was to claim and receive a reward.

The English could make no complaint of the valor displayed by their Indian allies during the earlier stages of the battle. The English themselves were to blame, because at the crisis the red men suddenly fell into a panic, sounded the "Oonah" of retreat, and scampered off into the woods. They had been told that these "Dutch Yankees" from the valley were "pudding faces," who would permit themselves to be scalped and robbed with impunity. I am compelled to the conviction that the doughty warriors of the Six Nations much preferred this sort of an antagonist. A dozen of their chiefs were slain at Oriskany and something less than a hundred of their warriors. It was too much of a loss for Indian equanimity. To the end of the war the Indians were never again persuaded to attack an organized force, or to make a stand against an army.

But Oriskany taught the English that the Indians were not only unreliable, but actually dangerous as allies. St. Leger endeavored to terrorize the garrison of Fort Stanwix into surrender by threats that a longer resistance would exasperate his Indian allies into a general massacre of the defenseless people of the valley. He professed his inability to hold them in check when once their natural passions were fully aroused. He was nearer right than he thought. They were already in a panic, and their fear was as far beyond control as their barbarity or their cupidity. His demand for surrender had hardly been rejected before they compelled him to break camp and retreat, as he himself confesses, "with all the precipitation of a rout." Once beyond the danger, the fear of the Indians again gave way to cupidity. Deprived of the promised plunder of the garrison and the valley, they turned to and plundered their friends. The evidence is conclusive that the regular

troops suffered severely in that retreat from the unrestrainable avarice and ferocity of the Indians. A scalp was a scalp in Indian ethics, no matter what were the political opinions of the brain beneath it. Johnson had over-estimated his personal influence with the red men. It was strong enough to induce them to violate their treaties of neutrality, but it was powerless to put into them that capacity for regular war which they never possessed. In due time King and Parliament were officially informed that the Indians "treacherously committed ravages upon their friends;" that "they could not be controlled;" that "they killed their captives after the fashion of their tribes;" and that "they grew more and more unreasonable and importunate." Indeed, the influence of the Indians over their allies was much stronger than any the latter exerted. From the disastrous expedition against Fort Stanwix Sir John Johnson emerged a full-fledged Indian in his instincts, the leader of a band of assassins, attacking the defenseless homes of his old neighbors at midnight, and murdering their dwellers in their beds. He made two incursions upon the Mohawk Valley during the remainder of the war, and the Indians who accompanied him were not more expert than he in devising ambushes or more relentless in their inhuman revenge.

If I have not placed too much importance upon these three facts which the battle of Oriskany established, the historians of the Revolution have failed to give to the engagement that position to which it is entitled. Many of them barely allude to it in passing hurriedly over the preliminaries of the Burgoyne campaign. Most of our own historians concede the claim of a British victory there, without undertaking an examination of the slender grounds upon which that claim has rested in security. Irving intimates that "it does not appear that either party was entitled to the victory;" Lossing passes it by as "the defeat of Herkimer," and Dr. Thacher as "the victory of St. Leger." There was no official report of the battle of Oriskany in behalf of the Americans there engaged, and in the absence of such a report the whole matter has been permitted to go by default. The impudent letter in which St. Leger boasted of his victory to Burgoyne has been permitted to harden into history. Fortunately it is not too late to estimate Oriskany by its results. The technical evidence of their victory resides in the fact that the Tryon County militia held the field, from which their enemies fled, and carried off their wounded at leisure. The substantial evidence is that they were marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix, and the raising of the siege of that fort was the direct result of the battle. It was the

demoralization of his Indian allies which compelled St. Leger's precipitate retreat a week later, and it was Oriskany which created the demoralization. It was Oriskany which protected the rear of Gates' army. It was Oriskany which prevented a Tory uprising that might not have been confined to the Mohawk Valley. It was Oriskany which convinced the patriots that their raw troops were not a fruitless defense against the trained soldiers of England. It was Oriskany which, in the words of Washington, "first reversed the gloomy scene" of the opening years of the Revolution.

S. N. D. NORTH

¹ An effort was made during the Revolution to change the name of the fort which guarded the carrying place from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, from Stanwix to Schuyler, in honor to the brave General of the Revolution; but the universal custom of the intervening century has preserved the original name.

JOHN ADAMS AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES

The presentation at the British Court of the first Minister from the Government of the United States was an event of singular interest and importance. A long and painful struggle of seven years had ended in the separation of the Colonies from the mother country, and the acknowledgment of their independence. The definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the third day of September, 1783, by the British and American envoys, and ratified at last by their respective Governments, had closed the drama of the Revolution, and a new nation on this continent, with the experiment of free institutions, was now to take its place and make a history for itself among the kingdoms and empires of the World.

Dr. Franklin, John Adams and John Jay were associated in the commission for the treaty of peace, and to them had been intrusted the business of arranging the fundamental articles and settling important preliminary questions. Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the other American envoy, and but recently discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower of London in exchange for Lord Cornwallis, took no part in the treaty until just at the close of the negotiations. After it had been signed and ratified, Dr. Franklin, writing to a friend in Philadelphia—Charles Thompson—said: "Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength; but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us, our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted by better prospects of success. It was a memorable event in the history of this country. "The third of September," wrote John Adams on that day, 1783, "will be more remarkable for the signature of the definitive treaties than for the battle of Naseby or Worcester or the death of Oliver Cromwell."

Mr. Jay returned to America, and Dr. Franklin, after a residence abroad of more than eight years, during which time he had been employed in public affairs of the utmost importance, soon followed

him, and Thomas Jefferson was appointed to succeed him as Minister Plenipotentiary in France. Before his return, however, Franklin, Adams and Jefferson were constituted by Congress a new Commission to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with the principal European powers; but not much was accomplished beyond eliciting from these powers evidence of their friendly dispositions towards the United States.

So early as March 9, 1785, Mr. Adams wrote from Auteuil, near Paris, to his friend Elbridge Gerry, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and afterwards Vice President of the United States, and remarked: "I think the invitation to send a Minister to London should be accepted, as it is undoubtedly our place to send first, and as the neglect of exchanging ambassadors will forever be regarded as a proof of coldness and jealousies by the people of England, the people of America, and by all the Courts and nations of Europe. It is in vain to expect of us treaties of commerce with England while she will not treat here and Congress will not treat there."

Mr. Adams, therefore, having been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, repaired to London, and on his way thither, the stage coach being crowded, he took a seat on the outside, and had for his companion an Englishman, who, not knowing his character, but supposing him to be of his own nationality, engaged him in conversation concerning the American people. He indulged in some reflections not very complimentary to the Americans, and made statements about their complexion and civilization which Mr. Adams politely corrected. "Why, what do you know about them?" said the Englishman. "Have you been in America?" "Yes, I have," was the reply. "Well, do tell me then if it be true that they are half savage, Indians, dark or copper-colored, and of little intelligence?" "The best answer I can give you," said Mr. Adams, "is to ask you to look upon myself. I am an American, and a fair sample of the speech and appearance of my countrymen."

He was at this time, as he had ever been, on the most intimate terms with Mr. Gerry. Their friendship had been cemented by participation in the long struggle of the Colonies, they were natives of the same Commonwealth, and they had not only been placed by their fellow-citizens in official positions of high responsibility, but had been chief contributors to the spirit and measures that led to Independence. Upon his arrival in London Mr. Adams wrote Mr. Gerry, then a member of Congress, under date of June 26th, 1785, and acquainted him with the manner of

his reception, and said: "I have met with a public reception here as respectful and honorable as possible, but I am not deceived by all that into a belief that we shall soon obtain what we want. There is a reserve, which signifies more to me than many fine speeches and pompous ceremonies. I shall soon write more fully."

The fuller account to which he referred was contained in the translation of letters addressed in cipher to Mr. Jay, Secretary of State, and giving in detail his presentations to the King and Queen, and the speeches and replies which formed a part and the principal part of the ceremonies. The translation was accompanied by the following letter, never before printed, which indicates the caution of Mr. Adams in the public matters of that crisis, as well as the spirit and hopes that governed his actions:

GROSVENOR SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, July 6, 1785.

My Dear Friend: The inclosed Letters I send to Mr. Jay in Cypher, but as the conversations with the King and Queen have been reported by Lord Carmarthen and the Lord and Ladies in waiting on the Queen, and are become generally known, there is no longer a Necessity of so much mystery, yet you must be sensible of the Delicacy of the subject, and therefore communicate them with discretion and in confidence; if Mr. Jay should not have rec'd the originals in Cypher, you may deliver these to him when you see him, but I make no doubt he will receive them.

The Dispositions of the Ministry are either very deceitful or very good, but they are [so] watched and embarrassed by oppositions of various Parties that it will at least be long before they venture on any thing decisive. They may do something to the Purpose sooner than I expect, but I see no present hope. I am much afraid there will be a necessity that the People of all the States should follow the example of Fanueil Hall. But it cannot be too earnestly recommended to them to consider Persons and Property as sacred. There is no necessity of violating either. Petitions of the People to their Assemblies, and Instructions from them to Congress will be sufficient for all good Purposes.

With great esteem your Friend & Servant,

Mr. GERRY.

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Adams arrived in London on the 26th of May, and was presented to the King and Queen with the customary ceremonies at one o'clock on Wednesday, the first of June, and on the ninth of the same month to the Queen. The letters containing "the conversations" are to be found in *The Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. viii, and the translation there printed must have been made from the cypher text or copied from the original draughts, as it differs in a slight degree from the translated duplicates sent to Mr. Gerry.

One is struck with the sentiments of the American Minister in the presence of the British sovereign. His appointment formed indeed a new epoch in the history of England and of America. "I think myself," said he, "more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character, and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or in better words, the old good nature and the old good humor between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion and kindred blood." And the King's reply was dignified and respectful, and made with evident emotion. He wished it to be understood in America that he had done nothing in the late contest but what he thought himself indispensably bound to do by the duty which he owed to his people. He was reluctant to part with his Colonies, and owned that he was the last to consent to the separation, but the separation having taken place he "would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

The speech of Mr. Adams to the Queen, who welcomed him to her country, was especially gracious, and after venturing upon some high thoughts, he added, "it seems to be descending too far to ask, as I do, your Majesty's royal indulgence to a person who is indeed unqualified for Courts, and who owes his elevation to this distinguished honor of standing before your Majesty, not to any circumstances of illustrious birth, fortune or abilities, but merely to an ardent devotion to his native country and some little industry and perseverance in her service."

Such was the appearance of the first Minister from the United States before the Court of St. James. It was as honorable to him as to the Government which he represented, and excited at the time much interest and curiosity among the ambassadors of the great powers of Europe. Though the requirements of courtly etiquette were not altogether agreeable to the republican simplicity of Mr. Adams and to his notions of the dispatch of public business, yet he fulfilled them all as a part of his duty, believing what he then said, that "it is thus the essence of things is lost in ceremony in every country of Europe."

E. E. BEARDSLEY

JAMES WILLIAM BEEKMAN

The family of Beekman in New York has been traced to an early and honorable origin in Germany. An accomplished scholar, a native of Cologne, Gerard Beekman was chosen early in the seventeenth century to ask assistance abroad for the Protestant cause, and on this embassy visited England, whose sovereign, James I., it is stated by Mr. Holgate in his *American Genealogy*, gratified with the ability or spirit of the ambassador, "caused the coat of arms of the Beekman family to be remodelled, as it now is, to a 'rose on either side of a running brook,' the word beck or brook being incorporated in the name. This Gerard Beekman, on his return to Germany, being prominently identified with the Protestant cause, became a sufferer with its followers, was driven into exile, but found honorable refuge in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. His eldest son Henry was sent by the religious persecutions of the time into the United Provinces of the Netherlands, where he found political employment under the States General. He left a son William, born at Overijssel, who at the age of twenty-four, in 1647, sailed, in company with the newly appointed Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, to make his home in New Netherland. We soon hear of him as a wealthy landed proprietor in New York, Beekman street to this day perpetuating his name, and marking the area of his property. After holding several offices in the civic government, he was appointed Vice Director for the West India Company on the Delaware in 1658, where for four years, with zeal and fidelity, he kept watch over a limited region in a military and judicial capacity. Upon his retirement from this unsettled and somewhat scant jurisdiction, he was retained for a short time in the Company's service as Sheriff of Esopus on the Hudson. Subsequently, under the English rule, he was for a number of years Alderman in the city of New York, where he died at an advanced age in 1707.

Fifth in descent from William Beekman in a line of citizens of distinction as physicians and merchants, James William, son of Gerard Beekman, was born in the city of New York on the 22d of November, 1815. His mother was Catharine Sanders, and in his father's line he inherited the blood of Keteltas, De la Noy and Abeel. Carefully educated under private tuition at home, he entered Columbia College, and was graduated with the class of 1834. Upon leaving college he studied

law for a time in the office of John L. Mason, but never became a member of the bar. His father's death in 1833 left him independent in a fortune, which was greatly increased on the death of his uncle James by the bequest of a huge landed estate and country residence on the East River. On these grounds, crossed by the present Fifty-second street, stood the historic mansion erected by James Beekman prior to the Revolution, which became identified with several important incidents of that period. On the occupation of the city by the British after the battle of Long Island, the house was the residence and headquarters successively of Sir William Howe, Commissary Loring, Generals Clinton and Robertson. Andre, tradition says, slept in one of its rooms the night prior to his fatal departure for West Point. Captain Nathan Hale was tried and condemned as a spy in the ample green-house in its garden.

Previously to grappling with the onerous difficulties of the improvement of this landed property, the demand for which was now imminent with the growth of the city, Mr. Beekman having in long summer tours become familiar with the natural features of his own country from Maine to St. Louis, then the terminus of western travel, at the close of 1838 entered upon a visit to Europe, in which, as in his previous American journeys, he was accompanied by the writer of this notice. Sailing in a packet ship for Havre, we were at Paris diverted from the usual track of continental travel by the invitation of the Hon. Harmanus Bleecker of Albany to join him in a protracted visit to Holland. In that country, chiefly in a residence at the Hague, we passed several months together. Mr. Bleecker carried letters from his friend, President Van Buren, which opened to him the doors of every distinguished personage of that leisurely metropolis. The charm of this social intercourse, with its unusual opportunities for studying the manners and habits of the people, and observing the sources of the national prosperity, while making acquaintance with the numerous memorials of its illustrious history, in its ancient public buildings, its institutions and the ever-present world of art, occupied us through a winter of profitable enjoyment till spring. England and Scotland were then traversed in a comprehensive tour. At the end of the year we returned in one of the earliest steam vessels crossing the Atlantic to New York.

Soon after his arrival home, Mr. Beekman married, in 1840, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Milledoller, then President of Rutgers College, New Jersey. The old historic family mansion on the East River was fitted up, with a reverent regard for its antiquities, for a residence; and there for a while, in the exercise of a generous hospitality, its owner

looked forth upon the march of the great city which was threatening field and garden, and in no long time approached by a newly laid out street to his very doorway. With a conservative instinct which governed the man through life, and the characteristic pluck of his race, he would not suffer any encroachments of this kind greatly to disturb the venerable land-mark. The land was cut down in front of the edifice to form a level street, but the building was supported on a new basement, and still continued, with its noble elevation, to challenge the attention of the voyager on the East River.

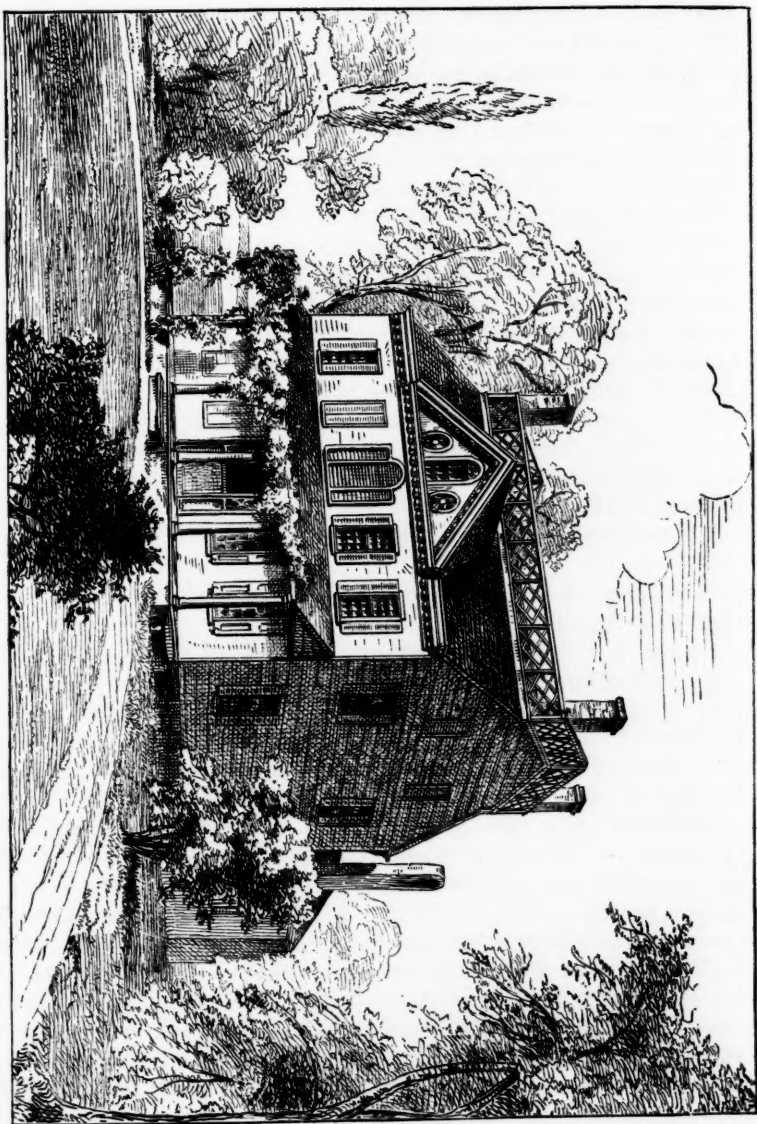
Before these changes in the grounds were made, while the estate was yet in its perfect beauty, it was our good fortune to accompany to the spot a distinguished visitor, who had an observant eye and keen appreciation for all its associations. This was the author, Nathaniel Hawthorne, whose acquaintance Mr. Beekman and myself had made together in our early tour in New England. Hawthorne, then unknown to public office, and but little known to the public in any way, was living the life of a recluse at Salem. The single volume of tales, which he had then published, had given, however, to all intelligent perceptions the most decided proofs of his genius. The acquaintance then formed between Mr. Hawthorne and Mr. Beekman was never lost sight of by the former, who ever held in affectionate remembrance the kindly qualities of his visitor. I had often occasion to observe this in subsequent meetings and correspondence with Mr. Hawthorne, and I mention it here as a striking proof of the worth and amiable nature of our common friend, whose character is the subject of this memorial; for Hawthorne, as any reader of his personal Diaries must have noticed, was a most fastidious and rare judge of character. On occasion of his visit to the Beekman House he was a quiet observer of its grounds and position, and of the historic treasures which its walls contained. In one of his many note books or journals, published since his death, there is a reference to the capabilities of such a scene, inspired, we think, by this very spot, for the purposes of an imaginative portrayal of a great city, devouring in its progress such old historical edifices. A pen and ink sketch of the Beekman House by Hawthorne would have been no unmeet companion to his living pictures of the old Province House in Boston.

The charm of the place, as an inviting home, was soon however to be relinquished by its owner. The ground in its vicinity being once broken, new sanitary conditions were required in the laying out of the whole region, a necessity of which a severe warning was received in the presence of the dreaded cholera. The health of the family was seriously

threatened or impaired, which led to the final abandonment of the house as a residence by its proprietor. A protracted tour in Europe was undertaken at the demand of physicians for the recovery of the health of Mrs. Beekman, which was slowly regained in a solicitous course of foreign travel, embracing a residence in Rome. In a subsequent foreign tour Mr. Beekman passed a winter in Egypt. During all these journeyings his time was liberally occupied with the study of the government of the countries he visited, the practical working of their political principles, their religious life, their machinery of education and particularly the management of their humanitarian institutions. The study of the laws of health and the means of its recovery, which had been practically forced upon his attention, led to that intimate acquaintance with remedial treatment in public hospitals, which he afterwards turned to good account in his participation in the conduct of such institutions at home.

Having now arrived at the middle stage of life Mr. Beekman became much engrossed in the difficult and costly work crowded upon him by the march of local improvement; the work of the adjustment of his considerable landed estates to the requirements of the city. This, for a number of years, fully occupied his attention; but, onerous as the task was, it was not suffered to exclude what had now become the settled habit of his life; the devotion of a portion of his time to the philanthropic and public duties of the citizen. Foremost among these he always exhibited an interest in the promotion of popular education and the work of hospital improvement. He was an earnest friend of the Public School system of this city, serving as a member of its Board of Education and carefully observant of the daily routine in its schools and academies. At the time of his decease he held the position of Trustee of Columbia College, his Alma Mater, his interest in its development having been previously shown as a member of her Society of Alumni. On the foundation of the Woman's Hospital in this city, the establishment of which he had earnestly advocated, he was chosen its first President, and held the office till his death. He gave much of his time to the welfare of this institution, which justly holds his memory in the highest regard. In the appreciative and kindly words of the Governors of the Hospital after his death: "His instincts were ever in the direction of that which is right and loving and true. He was never troubled with misgivings in any question of duty. It was impossible for him to do other than ally himself with the side of the wronged, the afflicted, the distressed. He was a generous hearted Christian gentle-





THE BEEKMAN HOUSE, TURTLE BAY.



man." Mr. Beekman was also long connected with the New York Hospital as a Governor, and at the time of his death as Vice President. He took an active part in its counsels during an important period of its growth, when its final removal from its old site on Broadway and its reconstruction in new buildings, brought under practical discussion the principles of hospital management. In 1871 he delivered at the request of its officers a Centennial Discourse, reviewing the history of the institution, an important chapter of the rise and development of the city, noticeable, moreover, for its candid discussion of a true system of hospital construction. His Report of the Committee "On a Village of Cottage Hospitals" made to the Society in February, 1876, is a valuable exhibit, drawn from the experience of various eminent foreign authorities, of the advantage of numerous isolated and thoroughly ventilated buildings, of cheap construction, in adjacent, healthy rural districts, for the treatment of the sick of large communities in preference to their assemblage in vast single edifices within the deteriorating influences of city life. He anxiously urged the adoption of this change of system, in whole or in part, upon the Governors of the Hospital. Mr. Beekman was, in addition to these services, an active and efficient Director of the New York Dispensary.

It would convey a false impression of Mr. Beekman to speak of him as a politician in the ordinary sense of the word. Though in the best signification of the phrase a public man, that is, one freely holding his time and attention, at every proper call, to be employed in the public service, he was no mere politician. Nor, while he was incapable of pursuing politics as a trade, had he devoted himself to its higher study as a science. He was, from his position in the city, naturally looked to as a guardian of its interests, while his moderate conservatism in national affairs singled him out at a turn in the State parties when the Fillmore interest was in the ascendant, for the choice of his fellow citizens as their representative in the State Senate, to which he was twice elected, serving two terms, from 1850 to 1854. This was his only tenure of public office. Apart from its incidental bearing upon national affairs, it was distinguished by an intelligent devotion to our city interests in the work of education and by his furtherance of the preliminary efforts which led to the location of the Central Park. Jones' Wood, on the East River, it will be remembered, was first contemplated as the site, and a report of the legislative committee favoring its selection was drawn up and presented to the Senate by Mr. Beekman. In the efforts at pacification previous to the outbreak of the war for the preservation of the Union,

Mr. Beekman was chosen with the late Erastus Corning a Delegate to the Peace Convention in 1861 at Washington, when he urged in vain upon President Buchanan the provisioning of Fort Sumter by running the blockade with the steamer "Star of the West."* On the actual outbreak of hostilities the position of Mr. Beekman was unequivocal for the maintenance of the National Government. He was one of the founders of that active, patriotic institution in this city, the Union League Club, of which, for a time, he held the Vice Presidency. His attitude in the present state of our political affairs was shown within the year by his advocacy of the policy of President Hayes in reference to the civil service and his course towards the South. "My earnest conviction," he wrote to the Chairman of the meeting held in Wall street in March in support of the President, "is that true reform and national prosperity depend upon a civil service in which the selection shall be made from 'the fittest,' without reference to party. The course of President Hayes at this time deserves the support of every lover of his country, and justifies even the very high estimate I have formed of his character."

Mr. Beekman's sympathy was extended to various liberal movements abroad; to the cause of Protestantism in France, the progress of Italy to independence, the effort of Mexico during the civil war to maintain herself against the plots and armies of France and the usurpation of Maximilian. At a crisis in the affairs of Mexico he presided at the public dinner given in this city in 1864 to Señor Romero, the Minister at Washington from that country, at which were assembled a distinguished audience; Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bancroft, President King of Columbia College, Mr. De Peyster, Mr. Folsom were among the speakers. On a subsequent occasion, in 1867, many of the same guests assembled in this city to congratulate the same representative of Mexico on the final triumph of the national cause. Mr. Bryant then presided and Mr. Beekman was one of the speakers. He was called upon to respond to the toast "Free Churches and Free Schools;" alluding to the promised development of popular education in Mexico, he coupled the efforts there making with the old glorious struggle in Holland, when religion and education were joined in a union necessary and inseparable.

By no means an unimportant part of these relations to the public borne by Mr. Beekman was his cordial participation in the club life of the city. It was an exhibition of the social impulses which formed so distinctive a portion of his character. Unlike churlish John Hawkins of

* Mr. Beekman published an account of this interview in the *Evening Post*, November 6, 1876.

Johnsonian fame, he was eminently "a clubable man." He was for more than thirty years a member of the St. Nicholas Society, and held in 1868 and 1869, for the customary period of two years, in successive elections, its office of President. In the latter year he delivered before the Society an address, entitled "The Founders of New York," which has been published. In this, in a lively, sketchy way, he introduced not merely the early settlers of Manhattan, but discussed the influence of the Netherlands upon England, and exhibited the trophies of the mother country in the furtherance of education by her pioneer national schools, promoting with the zeal of a native Hollander to the foremost position in the history of his Art, their printer, Lawrence Coster, whose first work was a Child's Primer, which made common schools possible and Luther a power in the world. Mr. Beekman was also one of the originators of and the President of the St. Nicholas Club of this city, and had long been associated with the Century Club.

Of these public and semi-public avocations, there remains but one to mention—his membership in the New York Historical Society. He was one of its oldest members of the present generation, having been elected a resident member on the revival of the Society in 1838. In 1847 he was appointed a member of the Executive Committee, and was made its Secretary. The following year he was elected Domestic Corresponding Secretary, and held that office for seven years. In 1868 he was again appointed on the Executive Committee, and held the position till his decease. In 1872 he was elected Second Vice President of the Society, and was annually re-elected to that office to the present year. He read several papers before the Society—one on "Early European Colonies on the Delaware" in 1847, another on "The History of Religious Missions" in 1849. In the former he had occasion to review the exploits of his ancestor, William Beekman, after the surrender of Fort Casimir, for the particulars of which affair he humorously refers to the "veracious chronicle of Diedrich Knickerbocker," not, however, as his narrative passes along, without a Parthian arrow discharged at the merry historian. "Peace," says he, "be with his ashes! When he wielded over the reputation of our ancestors Geoffrey Crayon's sceptre, he held it, perhaps, over the losel Yankees as a rod of iron, but to the hapless Dutchmen it became a red-hot poker!" In 1874, when the old Beekman house was taken down, he presented to the Society the drawing-room mantel and Dutch tiles, which now adorn the lower hall of the Library building. Other relics of the place found a congenial home in the new country house which Mr. Beekman erected for a summer resi-

dence at Oyster Bay, Long Island—among them the antique coach of English make, one of the first seen in New York, which had been carefully handed down in the family from his ancestor, James, the builder of the old mansion.

It was in the midst of the activities which we have spoken of, in the enjoyment of health, with the promise of prolonged usefulness for many years, that Mr. Beekman was suddenly stricken down. Prostrated by an acute attack of pneumonia, when he appeared successfully to have struggled with the complaint, his strength failed him, and he succumbed to the disease on the 15th of June, 1877, at his residence in this city. The gathering at the funeral of distinguished citizens, many of whom had been his associates in his philanthropic labors, at the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the Fifth Avenue, where a commemorative address was delivered by his friend, the Rev. Dr. Vermilye, bore testimony to the regard in which he was held by the community. His remains were interred in Greenwood Cemetery.

A large inherited fortune left Mr. Beekman free from the ordinary cares and anxieties of money making to pursue something of the ideal in life; and he found this ideal in the charms of society and practical philanthropy. He had nothing in him of the recluse. His enjoyments were freely shared with his family and friends. Beyond these his thoughts and cares were with the welfare of the State, that family of fellow-citizens; and the religious world, that greater cosmopolitan family of fellow Christians. He readily gave his time and labors, with his sympathies, to others. All who became acquainted with him saw that he was an eminently social man. His openness of address and easiness of approach, with a certain impressive genial bonhomie, seconded by an unfailing vivacity of conversation, rendered him the delight of his companions. His courteous respect to ladies had in it a spice of the old deferential chivalry. Firm in the maintenance of his own views where they involved points of principle and morality, he was considerate of the opinions of others where these tests were not violated.

It would be unjust to the memory of Mr. Beekman; it would be unjust to his friends to whom we speak, to close this notice without some adequate mention of his religious character. It is not to our taste, it would not be in accordance with his disposition, to parade the sanctities of life before the world; but no proper estimate or conception of the life of our friend can be formed if we omit this element of character. He always appeared to us in his walk and conversation—two old and very descriptive words—the Christian gentleman. Piety with him was a

principle and a tradition. He inherited and cherished the simple, devout Protestant faith of his fathers; and it constantly guided his life. He loved and revered the Bible, not merely as the book of all books, of the most exquisite moral type, as the acme of all literature in its delight of every æsthetic faculty, as the sum of all human philosophy; but as the divine guide to man, born beyond the world, sacred in its source, sacred in its keeping, to be cherished as the life-giving fount, the inspiration and incentive of every human excellence, the promise and support to the race of its hopes and aspirations, the companion of life from the cradle to the grave, from the lisp of infancy to the faltering tone of age. As a means of insight, of elevation, of civilization, the value of this Book in its literature, its divinity, was so transcendantly important in his view, that it was simply incomprehensible to him that any limit should be set to its acceptance. That it should be excluded from early education, that it should be denied the pupil in the Public Schools was, in his perception, as consummate an act of treason to mental and moral light and knowledge as it would be to obscure the rays of the sun in its dissemination of warmth and beauty to the world. His last, most interesting and valuable gift to the New York Historical Society was a superb perfect copy of the first Bible printed in the Dutch language of his ancestors.

Parallel with the worth of the Bible to man, he regarded and ever in his own practice religiously maintained, the observance of the Christian Sabbath, not in any Puritanical exaggeration as a day of austerity and gloom, but as a period of repose from labor and its severities, a time for cheerful family and friendly intercourse, of prayer and praise, of the opening of the mind by the best culture to the higher life of the soul. There was no spirit of exclusiveness in this, no obtrusion of personal views upon others, but a generous liberality of sentiment which respected the rights of those who, mindful of the one great end, might differ from him as to the particular ecclesiastical road in reaching it. In consonance with this feeling, though a conservative in his pursuit of the religious worship of his forefathers in the Reformed Dutch Church, and sincerely attached to its ways, at the close of his life he held a pew in the Presbyterian Church of the Rev. Dr. Hall, whose personal friendship he enjoyed. In his intercourse as a citizen he associated freely with the leaders of the various Christian Churches of the city; and we think we may safely say, was honored and respected by them all. Indeed there was a singular geniality in his disposition, which was shed like sunlight upon all with whom he came in contact. He was a bright,

quick, somewhat sententious talker, enlivening his conversation with jest and story drawn from experience and reading. He had been an observant traveller abroad and at home, and was familiar with many distinguished public men; in his active daily life, as well as from books, he had accumulated a liberal fund of knowledge, which displayed itself in the resources of illustrations and anecdote, and a certain humorous, practical way of stating a question which enlivened his conversation and occasional public speeches. So natural to him and so constant was this vein, this cheery vivacity that he carried with him, a foe to dullness and despondency, a life imparting power, in the intercourse of every-day life, that his friends realize with difficulty his sudden departure. The spirit of such a man, indeed, survives long in the recollection of his friends, not as a memory but a living presence. Verily, these are not the times in which we can afford to neglect such an example of worth, probity and moderation.

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK

THE FAMILY OF BACHE

The name is Norman. In old English records it is written *de la Bèche* or *de la Bache*. This word signifies a spade. A sturdy agriculturist no doubt the first to whom this distinctive name was given, and true to the original instinct the race has been always noted for its love of country out-door life. Whether the original Norman crossed the sea with the hardy band which "came in with the Conquest," or followed later to take his share in the spoils of fair England is matter of uncertainty. The two of the name, Theophylact and Richard, who emigrated in the middle of the last century to America, were the sons of William Bache, a Collector of Excise at the town of Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, England. His wife was Mary Blyckenden.

Theophylact Bache, the elder of the two brothers who crossed the sea, was born at Settle on the 17th January, 1734-5, old style. He landed in the city of New York on the 17th September, 1751, consigned to the care of Paul Richard, whose wife, Elizabeth Garland of London, was a relative of the Bache family. Mr. Richard was a citizen of renown. He had been Mayor of the city, an honor the equivalent in New York of that of Lord Mayor of London, and a part maintained and dressed in the colonial days with a due sense of dignitary importance. A man of substance also was Mr. Richard, or he could not have held this exalted position in a city where the merchant magnates recognized no superiors except the representatives of Royal authority, and held at a respectful distance even the professional gentlemen, who in these latter days hold all the honors and take all the tricks. Mr. Richard died in 1756, leaving young Bache, who had already learned the mysteries of the European trade, the good will of his business, three hundred pounds currency, and entrusted to him the liquidation of his estate. For a year young Bache sold Madeira wine and Cheshire cheese, the residue of Mr. Richard's stock in trade, from the old stand in Hanover Square, then moved his store to Hunter's Quay, the new and commodious wharf where the vessels consigned to him lay under his convenient observation. The merchants in those days did not confine themselves to any one class of importation. Coals and salt, sugar and molasses, green tea and Madeira wine were staple articles, and what was known under the general title of European goods included velvets, fustians and cottons of the last print and newest styles. In addition to this varied busi-

ness, after the fashion of the day, he took interest in privateering. At least he is found associated with one of the Lispenards in the ownership of the *Grace*, a ship of eight guns. Many a rich prize was seized and brought in during the wars of the century, New York privateers venturing even to the Spanish main, and standing off and on across the "Trades," in watch for India cargoes. In 1765 the paths of peace becoming again secure, the good ship *Grace* was put into the Bristol trade, and run regularly under the command of William Chambers, a crack Captain, later famous in the tea party days.

In 1760 the enterprising young merchant made a more important and happy venture. In October of that year he married Ann Dorothy, daughter of Andrew Barclay, a wealthy gentleman, who had passed from Curacoa to New York, and there established himself as a merchant. This alliance connected young Bache with some of the best blood of the Province. His wife's family was intermarried with those of Van Cortlandt and Jay. Another of the daughters of Andrew Barclay was married to Major Moncrieff, a British officer of distinction; another became the second wife of Dr. Richard Bayley.

The younger of the two brothers, Richard Bache, was also born at Settle, September 12th, 1737, and appears to have followed early in the footsteps of the elder. The colonies were a fortunate opening for such families as those of his father. Richard was the eighteenth child. The precise date of his arriving does not appear, but he had already established himself in business in Philadelphia in 1760. Here he acted partly as his brother's agent, especially in the underwriting of vessels and cargoes. Underwriting was a profitable business in those days, three and a half per cent. being a usual charge for an Havana risk. The policies were engaged to be of "as much force and effect as the surest writing or Policy of Assurance made in Lombard street or elsewhere in London." In Philadelphia Richard Bache connected himself by marriage with one of those characters whose single lustre is sufficient to shed perpetual light upon its most distant alliances. On the 3d October, 1767, Richard Bache married Sarah, sole daughter of the illustrious Franklin, a woman of rare accomplishments and great beauty. Thus early did these two youths secure for themselves and their posterity a firm place in the great colonies into which they were adopted. It was from Franklin that the late distinguished Chief of the Coast Survey, Alexander Dallas Bache, inherited his talent for observation and discovery. One of his most interesting tracts, published in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* in 1833, was entitled "An Attempt to fix the Date

of the Observation of Dr. Franklin in Relation to the Northeast Storms of the Atlantic Coast of the United States." Dr. Franklin was the first to observe and establish the fact that northeast storms begin to leeward, and are often more violent there than farther to windward, which he stated with his usual perspicuity in 1749. The meteorological notices which warn mariners and farmers of weather changes with an accuracy now proverbial, practically originated with Franklin. A most curious instance of their value was seen when travelers, intending to return from Europe a few days since, were known to postpone their departure on the telegraphic announcement of the great cyclone which recently swept over our southern coast, and then diverging crossed the Atlantic.

On the resignation by Franklin of the office of Postmaster-General under the Crown, the headquarters of which Department were at Philadelphia, Richard Bache succeeded him in this position.

During the troubles which preceded the revolution it is to be supposed that both brothers were in accord in their sentiments. Theophylact was foremost among the New York merchants who openly resisted the aggressions of the Home Government and united heartily with them in the Non-importation agreements which, originating in New York in 1765, proved sufficient in their rigorous enforcement to compel the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was when in 1770 new encroachments of the Ministry were met by new determination not to trade with the mother country until all grievances were redressed he was again one of the committee chosen to see to their execution. So also when in May, 1774, a Committee of Correspondence was raised upon the news of the closing of the port of Boston, he was a regular attendant upon its meetings and a willing promoter of the first Continental Congress, to the measures and recommendations of which he faithfully adhered. When, however, the drums of Lexington awakened the Colonies from their dreams of reconciliation the attitude of the two brothers was different. While Richard, under the influences of the commanding and energetic genius of Franklin and the not less powerful attraction of his charming and intellectual wife was naturally drawn to the patriot cause, Theophylact, whose sympathies were all English and whose alliance was with a family as English as his own, stood aloof from the contest.

He seems to have had little disposition to public life, and to have carefully avoided taking any part in the bitter struggle. He was a genial, hospitable, warm-hearted gentleman. His tastes were domestic, and his only pleasure outside his own large family circle was his love of field sports and an "old country" attachment for his dog and gun. Warned

that he had incurred the suspicion of the Committee of Safety he left the city, but in a frank, manly, open manner wrote to the Committee of Congress that "since the unhappy dispute begun he had not contravened any order of the Congress, Continental or Provincial; that such was not his intention." He added his firm hope for a reconciliation, and that this once happy country might again enjoy the blessings of peace.

His later course was consistent with these professions. Returning to the city during the British occupation he distinguished himself by his kindness to the patriot prisoners, not confining his good offices to his own friends or fellow citizens alone but including all in his generous philanthropy. To this Captain Alexander Graydon, of the Pennsylvania Line, captured in 1776, bears pleasing testimony. "Whatever was the motive" he writes in his interesting memoirs, "the behavior of Mr. Bache was altogether free from intolerance and party rancor; it was more, it was hospitable and kind. His table, his Madeira and his purse were placed at the service of the unfortunate officers, even of those who were unknown to him personally or through their connections." He was also one of the Vestry charged with the care of the city poor by the British authorities.

In 1777 he was chosen President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, the fifth in the order of distinguished merchants who held this post from the organization of this first American commercial corporation in 1768. After the war he resumed his mercantile relations with Great Britain, and in 1803 took his son Andrew into his house. His old prosperity, however, had deserted him. In this he shared the fate of most of his compeers who were engaged in trade in the troublous period which followed the French revolution, when the commerce of neutral nations fell a prey to the barbarous navigation restrictions imposed by France in the "Milan decrees" and followed by England in her "orders in Council." He died in New York on the 30th October, 1807. His stature was Norman in its great size, and his instincts were large and generous. In every way he was a noble example of the English race.

By his wife Ann Dorothy Barclay he had a numerous issue. His name was continued in the line of his sons Paul Richard, Andrew and William. There are many descendants in the female line in the families of Bleecker, Satterthwaite, Lispenard and McEvers.

The portrait which prefaces this sketch is from a crayon head taken by the French emigré St. Memin, now owned by Mr. Thomas Wilkinson Satterthwaite, of New York, a grandson of Mr. Bache.

The descendants of the Philadelphia branch are quite numerous, and the name is now almost recognized as a Pennsylvania name. The whole souled patriotism of Sarah Franklin, popularly known by the endearing household name of Sally Bache, and her rare personal charms have been continued in her posterity. Her children were noted for what has been termed "their robust beauty," and of their attachment to the nation her father did so much to form no further proof is needed than the statement made by Mr. Parton, the accomplished biographer of Dr. Franklin, that of one hundred and ten descendants living in 1862 ten were serving in the Union army and not one was opposed to the national cause.

The children of Richard Bache were eight in number, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. William, Louis and Richard, all whom left issue in the male line; of his daughters Elizabeth Franklin, Deborah and Sarah intermarried with the families of Harwood, Duane and Sergeant.

In both branches this family has maintained for more than a century its reputation for intellectual and moral excellence.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NARRATIVE BY
CAPTAIN JOHN STUART
OF GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS' EXPEDI-
TION AGAINST THE INDIANS IN THE
YEAR 1774, AND OF THE BAT-
TLE OF PLEASANT POINT,
VIRGINIA.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The subjoined sketch is believed to be the most authentic account in existence in this country of the expedition which terminated in the battle of the Virginia colonists with the Indians at Point Pleasant, Virginia, on the 10th of October, 1774. It was written by Capt. John Stuart, who was a prominent actor in the thrilling events which marked that memorable pre-Revolutionary struggle. The original manuscript of this sketch, now in my possession, bears the marks of age, and I am assured from its history previous to its reaching my hands that it is the genuine narrative penned or dictated by Capt. Stuart himself. It is given below *literatim*, except as to a few corrections in orthography and punctuation. All the historical accounts of this expedition and battle in print are based upon this narrative of Capt. Stuart.

Although General Andrew Lewis, "the hero of Point Pleasant," as he has justly been designated, was a leading actor in the events in which he figured, fame has trumpeted to the world his brave exploits with feebler tone than the deeds of many other heroes of lesser note. History has been satisfied with a few fragmentary allusions to some salient incidents in his military career. Yet these few are of such a striking character that, like the sententious aphorisms of an-

cient Grecian sages, or the renowned deeds of Spartan and Roman valor, they have been crystallized into historic gems which adorn the pages of history with no doubtful lustre. One who was deemed worthy by General Washington to be invested with the high office of Commander-in-Chief of the American army, needs no weightier testimonial to his character as a brave soldier and skillful military chieftain.

His adopted State, Virginia, whose sturdy mountaineers he led in many a bloody frontier encounter, has at last paid him the debt of honor due him, long delayed, by placing his statue in that group of statues of her most eminent sons which encircle the base of her Washington monument at Richmond.

This monument was erected at the public expense, "to serve as a memorial to future ages of the love of a grateful people" for the illustrious Washington. It is a memorial of not only the people's gratitude, but of their devoted patriotism, symbolized by the equestrian statue which crowns the structure of him who will be known in all coming time as the "Father of his country." And this marble pile commemorates besides these Spartan virtues others no less meritorious. Six allegorical figures, symbolizing "Colonial Times," "Justice," "Revolution," "Independence," "Bill of Rights," and "Finance" encircle the monument, thus epitomizing the great struggle through which Virginia, as an integral part of the American nation, passed in her march from foreign vassalage to perfect civil liberty.

Andrew Lewis, whose statue is coupled with that representing "Colonial Times,"

stands, as it were, on the very threshold of that era which was fraught with such momentous events. Like Janus, the heathen deity of Rome, his resolute arm helped to push aside the brazen doors through which the conquering colonists marched forth to victory, for in the language of the annexed sketch, "This Battle (of Point Pleasant) was, in fact, the beginning of the Revolutionary War, that has obtained for our country the liberty and independence enjoyed by the United States."

The following brief sketch of his life is chiefly drawn from Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia.

Andrew Lewis was descended from Huguenot on his paternal and from Celtic ancestry on his maternal side. He was born in the province of Ulster, Ireland, about the year 1730, and was brought to Virginia in early childhood by his father, John Lewis, who settled in Augusta county, and founded the town of Staunton. Andrew entered the military service of the colony at the commencement of the French and Indian wars, and was with Washington at the capitulation of Fort Mifflin, September 26th, 1754. He was promoted to the rank of Major, and in the year 1756 commanded the abortive "Sandy Creek Expedition" against the Shawnees. He accompanied Major Grant, of the British army, on his disastrous reconnaissance of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and acquired during that campaign the highest reputation for courage and prudence. He was captured by the enemy and kept as a prisoner at Fort Duquesne until that post was abandoned by the French.

After the war Major Lewis resided on

Roanoke river, in Botetourt (now Roanoke) county. In 1774, while representing that county in the House of Burgesses, hostilities were renewed between the whites and Indians on the western frontier. Lewis was appointed Brigadier General by Governor Dunmore and assigned to the command of the forces raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties. General Lewis marched his troops to Point Pleasant, at the junction of the great Kanawha with the Ohio, and on the 10th of October, 1774, gained a victory over the most formidable Indian force that ever assembled within the limits of the Old Dominion. The Indians were led by the celebrated Shawnee warrior Cornstalk.

Washington had so high an opinion of the bravery and military skill of General Lewis that at the commencement of the Revolutionary war he recommended him to Congress for appointment as one of the Major Generals of the American Army. It is also said that when Washington was commissioned as Commander-in-Chief he expressed the wish that the appointment had been given to General Lewis. Congress did not appoint Lewis a Major-General; a slight which elicited from Washington a letter to General Lewis expressive of his regret at the course pursued by Congress. At his solicitation Lewis accepted the commission of Brigadier-General, and was soon after ordered to the command of the Virginia troops stationed near Williamsburg. On the 9th of July, 1776, he expelled Lord Dunmore from his retreat on Gwynn's Island (on the Chesapeake, east of Mathews County). General Lewis resigned his command in

1780 to return home, being ill with a fever, contracted in the low country. He died on his way, in Bedford County, about thirty miles from his own home on the Roanoke, lamented by all acquainted with his meritorious services and superior qualities.

His remains were brought to the county of Botetourt (now Roanoke), and were interred on his farm, which lies adjacent to the present town of Salem, the county seat of Roanoke County. Like the last resting places of many of the world's worthies, the burial place of General Lewis is almost "unknown," and certainly is "unhonored and unsung." It is located on a commanding eminence about one mile from Salem, overlooking one of the most lovely landscapes in the State of Virginia. The grave bears the marks of utter loneliness and neglect. It is situated in the midst of a dense, tangled copse of brambles and bushes. The only thing to mark the spot as being the burial place of one who figured so conspicuously and honorably in the annals of our country is a large boulder-stone lying at the head of the grave and having simply painted on it the name, "Gen. Andrew Lewis." The grave was thus marked a few years since by a gentleman who at one time owned the land to which it belonged. Had it not been for his thoughtful and patriotic care, perhaps in a few years there would have been no trace of its existence. A cemetery association, composed of citizens of Salem and vicinity, who have in the last few years laid out and opened a beautiful cemetery on the outskirts of the town, have selected and set apart a lot to contain the sleeping ashes of the

dead hero. Here, we trust, at some future time a monument suited to his character and public services will be erected to his memory. WM. MC C.

Salem, Va., August 13th, 1877.

NARRATIVE.—About the year 1749, a person who was a Citizen of the County of Frederick, and subject to paroxysms of lunacy, when influenced by such Fits, usually made excursions into the Wilderness, and in his Rambles Westwardly fell in on the Waters of Greenbrier River. At that time the Country on the Western Waters was but little known to the English Inhabitants of the then Colonies of America, being claimed by the French, who had commenced settlements on the Ohio and its Waters west of the Alleghany Mountains. The lunatic, being surprised to find Waters running a different Course from any he had before known, returned with the Intelligence of his Discovery, which abounded with Game. This soon excited the Enterprize of others, and two men from New England of the name of Jacob Marlin and Stephen Suel, took up a Residence on Greenbrier River; but soon disagreeing in sentiment, a quarrel occasioned their separation, and Suel, for the sake of peace, quit their Cabin and made his Abode in a large Hollow Tree. In this situation they were found by the late Genl. Andrew Lewis. In year 1751 Mr. Lewis was appointed Agent for a Company of Grantees, who obtained from the Governour and Council of Virginia an order for 100,000 Acres of land, lying on the Waters of Greenbrier River, and did, this year, proceed to make Surveys

to complete the quantity of said granted lands; and finding Marlin and Suel living in the neighborhood of each other, inquired what could induce them to live separate in a Wilderness so distant from the Habitations of any other human being. They informed him that the Difference of Opinions occasioned their Separation, and that they had since enjoyed more Tranquility and a better Understanding; for Suel said, that each morning, when they arose, and Marlin came out of the Great House and he from his Hollow Tree, they saluted each other, saying "good morning, Mr. Marlin," and "good morning, Mr. Suel," so that a good Understanding then existed between them, but it did not last; for Suel removed about forty Miles further West to a Creek that still bears his Name; there the Indians found him and Killed him.

Previous to the year 1755 Mr. Lewis had completed for the grantees under the Order of Council, upwards of 50,000 Acres, and the War then commencing between England and France, nothing further was done in the Business until the year 1761, when his Majesty issued his Proclamation, commanding all his Subjects within the Bounds of the Colony of Virginia, who were living or had made Settlements on the Western Waters, to remove from them, as the lands were claimed by the Indians, and good Policy required that a peaceable Understanding should be preserved with them to prevent Hostilities on their Part. The Order of Council was never afterwards carried into Effect, or his Majesty's consent obtained to confirm it. At the Commencement of the Revolution, when

the State of Virginia began to assume Independance, and held a Convention in 1776, some Efforts were made to have the Order of Council established under the New Order of Things, then beginning to take Place, but it was not confirmed, and the Commissioners were appointed in 1777 to grant Certificates to each Individual who had made Settlements on the Western Waters in Virginia previous to the year 1768, and since, with preference according to the Time of Improvements, which Certificate gave the Holder a Right to 400 Acres for his Settlement claims, and the Pre-emption of 1,000 more, if so much was found clear of prior Claims and the holder chose to accept.

The following year, 1778, Greenbrier was separated from Botetourt County, and the County took its name from the River, which was so named by old Col. John Lewis, father of the late Genl. Lewis and one of the Grantees under the Order of Council, who, in company with his Son Andrew, exploring the Country in 1751, entangled himself in a Bunch of Greenbriers on the River and declared he would ever after call the River *Greenbrier* River.

After Peace was confirmed between England and France, in the year 1761, the Indians commenced Hostilities in 1763, when all the Inhabitants residing in Greenbrier were totally cut off by a Party of Indians, headed by the Cornstalk Warrior. The chief Settlements were on Muddy Creek. Those Indians, in number about sixty, introduced themselves into the People's Houses under a Mask of Friendship, and every Civility was offered them by the People, provid-

ing victuals and Accommodations for their Entertainment, when on a sudden they Killed the Men and made Prisoners of the Women and Children. From thence they passed over into the levels, where some Families were collected at the house of Archibald Clendinen (where the honorable Ballard Smith now lives). There were between fifty and one hundred persons, men, women and children, there. The Indians were entertained, as at Muddy Creek, in the most hospitable manner. Clendinen having just arrived from a Hunt with three fat Elks, they were plentifully feasted. In the Mean Time, an old Woman with a sore Leg was showing her Distress to an Indian, and inquiring if he could administer to her Relief, he said: "I think I can," and drawing a Tomahawk, instantly killed her, and almost all the Men that were in the House.

Conrad Youcam only escaped by being some Distance from the House. When the outcries of the Women and Children alarmed him, he fled to Jackson's River, alarmed the People, who were unwilling to believe him, until the Approach of the Indians convinced them. The People all fled before them, and they pursued on to Carr's Creek in Rockbridge County, where many Families were killed and taken by them. At Clendinen's a Scene of much Cruelty was performed, and a Negro Woman, who was endeavoring to escape, killed her own Child, that was pursuing her and crying, lest that she might be discovered by its cries. Mrs. Clendinen did not fail to abuse the Indians with Terms of Reproach, calling them Cowards, &c., al-

though the Tomahawk was drawn over her Head with Threats of instant Death, and the Scalp of her Husband lashed about her Jaws. The Prisoners were all taken over to Muddy Creek, and a party of the Indians retained them there till the Return of the others from Carr's Creek, when the whole were taken off together. On the Day they started from the Foot of Keeney's Knob, going over the mountains, Mrs. Clendinen gave her infant Child to a Prisoner Woman to carry, as the Prisoners were in the Centre of the Line, with the Indians in Front and Rear, and she escaped into a Thicket, and concealed herself till they all passed by. The Cries of the Child soon made the Indians inquire for the mother, who was missing, and one of them said: "I will soon bring the Cow to her Calf," & taking the Child by the Heels, he beat out its Brains against a Tree, and throwing it down in the Path, all marched over it, until its Guts were tramped out with the Horses. She told me that She returned that Night in the Dark to her own House, a distance of more than ten miles, and covered her Husband's Corpse with Rails, which lay in the yard where he was killed in endeavoring to escape over a Fence with one of his Children in his Arms; and then She went into a Corn Field, where great Fear came upon her, and She imagined She saw a man standing by her within a few steps.

The Indians continued the War until 1764, and with much Depredation, on the Frontier Inhabitants, making excursions as far as within a few miles of Staunton. An end, however, was put to the War in the Fall of that year by the march of an Army, under the command

of Col. Bouquette, a British officer, who assembled with his Regular Troops at Fort Pitt some Companies of Militia from Augusta County and other Places, which, I believe, either volunteered their services or were such as were ordered on the Frontiers to protect the Inhabitants during the War. Col. Bouquette held a Treaty with the Indians some where near Muskingum, and the Indians delivered up many Prisoners, who returned to their Friends, and a Peace was concluded which continued until the year 1774.

I do not remember of hearing it alleged by any one what occasioned the War on the part of the Indians in 1763 (being then very young); but about that Time the British Government had passed an Act of parliament to tax the American Colonies; but, on the Remonstrance of the People and the Opposition of some of the British Politicians, they repealed the Law. I have since thought that they had been urged to it by private British Agency, as it is well known they were influenced that Way to commence the War in 1774.

In the Spring of that year General Lewis represented the County of Botetourt for the Assembly, and his Brother, Col. Charles Lewis, represented the County of Augusta at Williamsburg, which was then the Capital of our Government. During the Sitting of the Assembly in the Month of April or May Government received Intelligence of the hostile appearances of the Indians, who had fallen on the Traders in the Nation, and put them all to death, and were making other arrangements for the War.

General Lewis and his brother Charles

sent an Express immediately to the Frontier Settlements of their respective Counties, requesting them to put themselves in a posture of Defense. They had, each, the command of the Militia in their Counties, at that Time. And I was ordered by General Lewis to send out some Scouts to watch the Warrior-Path beyond the Settlements lately made in Greenbrier, which had re-commenced in the year 1769. We were few in Number, and in no Condition to oppose an Attack from any considerable Force. But Succour was promised us, as soon as they could arrive from the Assembly; and in the mean Time, arrangements were made for the carrying on an Expedition against the Shawnees, between the Earl of Dunmore, who was then Governor of Virginia, and the Lewises, before they left Williamsburg; the Governor to have the Command of the Northern Division of an Army of Volunteer Militia, or otherwise Draughts, to be collected from the Counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and the Settlements towards Fort Pitt; Genl Lewis to have the Command of a Southern Division of like Troops, collected from the Counties of Augusta, Botetourt, and the Adjacent Counties below the Blue Ridge. Col. Charles Lewis was to command the Augusta Troops, and Col. William Fleming the Botetourt Troops under Genl Lewis. The Governour was to take his Route by the Way of Pittsburg, and Genl Lewis down the Kanahway, the whole Armies to assemble at the mouth of the great Kanahway on the Ohio River.

General Lewis's Army assembled in Greenbrier at Camp Union (now Lewis-

burg) about the 4th September, 1774, amounting in all to about eleven hundred men, and proceeded from thence on their March, on the 11th Day of said Month. The Captains commanding the Augusta Volunteers were Capt. George Mathews, Capt. Alexander McClanaghan, Capt. John Dickeson, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. Benjamin Harrison, Capt. William Naul, Capt. Joseph Haynes and Capt. Sam'l Wilson. They commanding the Botetourt Companies were Capt. Matthew Arbuckle, Capt. John Murray, Capt. John Lewis, Capt. James Robison, Capt. Robert McClanaghan, Capt. James Ward, and Capt. John Stuart.¹ In the Course of that Summer, and not long after We received Notice of the hostile Appearance of the Indians, they came up the Kanahway and Killed Walter Kelley.

Kelley had begun a Settlement about twelve miles below the great Falls when they made the Attack, and Col. John Fields of Culpepper County was at Kelley's about to make some Surveys on military Claims, or otherwise. He had with him several of his Neighbors, and one or two Negroes. I had sent an Express to them with Advice to remove immediately, as it was apprehended the Indians were about to break out, and that they were in great Danger. Kelley, who I believe was a Fugitive from the Back Parts of South Carolina, and of a bold and intrepid Disposition, received my Intelligence with Caution, and sent off his Family and stock for Greenbrier with his brother, a young man of equal suspicious Character. But Fields, trusting more to his own Consequence and

¹ This Captain John Stuart was the author of this narrative.

W. McC.

better knowledge of publick Facts, endeavoured to persuade Kelley there was no Danger, as Nothing of the Kind had been before heard of, and our Greenbrier Intelligence not worth noticing. On the Evening of the same Day, and before Kelly's Brother and Family had got out of hearing of the Guns, the Indians came on Kelley and Fields, where they were taking leather from a Tan Trough, at a small Distance from the Cabin, fired on them, and Killed Kelley on the Spot. Fields ran into the Cabin, where their Guns were all unloaded. He picked up one, and recollecting it was not charged, ran out of the House into a Corn Field within a few steps of the Door, and left his Negro Girl and Scotch Boy crying at the Door. The Boy was Killed and the Girl carried off. Fields made his Escape, but never saw an Indian. Kelley's Brother gave Information that he heard Guns fire soon after he started with the Family, and expected his brother and Col. Fields were Killed. I prepared to go and see what was the consequence; raised about ten or fifteen Men, and proceeded on our Way to the Kanahway about ten miles, when I met Col. Fields naked, except his shirt. His Limbs was grievously lacerated with Briers and Brush, his Body worn down with Fatigue and Cold, having run in that Condition from the Kanahway, upwards of eighty miles, through the Woods. He was then, I guess upwards of fifty years old, but of a hardy, strong constitution. He was afterwards killed in the Battle on the 10th of October following. But a fatality pursued the Family of Kelley, for the Indians came to Greenbrier, on Muddy Creek, and killed young

Kelley, and took his Niece prisoner about three Weeks after they had killed her Father.

About this Time the Disputes between the British Government and the Colonies began to run high, on Account of the Duties laid upon Tea imported to this Country, and much suspicion was entertained that the Indians were urged by the British Agents to begin a War upon us, and to kill the Traders then in the Nation. However that might be, Facts afterwards corroborated those suspicions. The Mouth of the great Kanahway is distant from Camp Union about 160 miles, the Way mountainous and rugged. At the Time we commenced our march, no Tract or Path was made, and but few white men had ever seen the place. Our principal pilot was Capt. Matthew Arbuckle; our Bread Stuff was packed upon Horses, and Drovers of Cattle furnished our meat, of which We had a plentiful Supply, as Drovers of Cattle and pack Horses came in succession after us; but We went on expeditiously under every Disadvantage, and arrived at Point Pleasant about the 1st of October, where we expected the Earl of Dunmore would meet us with his Army; who was to have come down the River from Fort Pitt, as was previously determined between the Commanders. But in this Expectation we were greatly disappointed, for his Lordship pursued a different Route, and had taken his March from Pittsburg by Land towards the Shawnee Towns. Gen'l Lewis finding himself disappointed in meeting the Governor and his Army at Point Pleasant, despatched two Scouts up the river, by land, to Fort Pitt, to endeavour to learn the Cause of the Dis-

appointment, and our Army remained encamped to await their Return. Before we marched from Camp Union we were joined by Col. John Field, with a Company of Men from Culpepper, and Capt. Thomas Buford, from Bedford County, also three other Companies under the Command of Capt. Evan Shelby, Capt. William Russell and Capt. Harbert, from Holston (now Washington County.) Those Troops were to compose a Division, commanded by Col. William Christian, who was then convening more Men in that quarter of the Country with a View of pursuing us to the Mouth of the great Kanahway, where the whole Army were all expected to meet, and proceed from thence to the Shawnee Towns. The last mentioned five Companies completed our Army to eleven hundred Men. During the the time our Scouts were going expressly up the River to Fort Pitt, the Governor had despatched three men, lately Traders amongst the Indians, down the River expressly to Gen'l Lewis, to inform him of his new Plan and the Route he was about to take, with Instructions to pursue on our March to the Shawnee Towns, where he expected to assemble with us, but what Calculations he might have made for Delay or other Disappointments that might happen to two armies under so long and difficult a March through a trackless wilderness I never could guess; or how he could suppose they would assemble at a Conjuncture so critical as the Business then in question required, was never Known to any one. The Governor's Express arrived at our Encampment on Sunday, the 9th Day of October, and on that Day it was my lot

to command the Guard. One of the Men was of the name of McCullough, with whom I had made some Acquaintance in Philadelphia, in the Year 1766, at the Indian Queen, where we both happened to lodge. This man, supposing I was in Lewis's Army, inquired and was told I was on Guard. He made it his Business to visit me and renew our Acquaintance, and in the Course of the Conversation I had with him he informed me that he had recently left the Shawnee Towns and gone to the Governor's Camp, which made me desirous to know his opinion of our expected success to subdue the Indians, and whether he thought they would be presumptuous enough to offer to fight us, as we supposed we had a Force superior to any Thing they could oppose to us. He answered: "Ah! they will give you Grinders, and that before long," and repeating it over again with an oath, swore we would get Grinders very soon. I believe he and his Companions left our Camp that evening to return to the Governor's Camp; and the next Morning two young Men set out very early to hunt for Deer. They happened to ramble up the River two or three Miles, and on a sudden fell on the Indian Camp, who had crossed the River on the Evening before, and was just about fixing for Battle. They discovered the young men and fired upon them; one was Killed, the other escaped and got into the Camp just before Sunrise. He stopped before my Tent, and I discovered a Number of Men collecting round him as I lay in bed. I jumped up and approached him, to know what was the Alarm, when I heard him declare he saw above five Acres of land covered with

Indians, as thick as one could stand beside another. Gen'l Lewis immediately ordered a Detachment of Augusta Troops, under his brother Charles Lewis, and another Detachment of Botetourt Troops, under Col. William Fleming. These were composed of the Companies commanded by the eldest Captains, and the Junior Captains were ordered to stay in Camp to aid the others as occasion might require. The Detachments marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same Order of March, about four hundred yards from our Camp, and in sight of the Guard. The Indians made the first fire, and Killed both the Scouts in Front of the lines just as the Sun was rising. A very heavy fire soon commenced and Col. Lewis was mortally wounded, but walked into the Camp, and died a few minutes afterwards, observing to Col. Charles Sims with his last Words: "I have sent one of the Enemy to Eternity before me." During his life it was his lot to have frequent skirmishes with the Indians, in which he was always successful, and gained much Applause for his Intrepidity, and was greatly beloved by his Troops. Col. Fleming was also wounded, and our Men had given Way some Distance before they were re-enforced by other Companies issuing in succession from the Camp, when the Indians in Turh had to retreat until they had formed a line behind logs and Trees across from the Bank of the Ohio to the Banks of the Kanahway, and kept up their fire till Sun-Set.

The Indians were exceedingly active in concealing their Dead that were Killed, and I saw a young Man draw

out three that were covered with Leaves, beside a large log, in the Midst of the Battle. Col. Christian came with Troops to our Camp that Night about eleven O'Clock; Gen'l Lewis having dispatched a messenger up the Kanahway to give him Notice we were engaged, and to hasten his March to our Assistance. He brought about three hundred Men with him, and marched out early the next Morning over the Battle Ground, found twenty-one of the Enemy slain on the Ground, and Twelve more were afterwards found, all concealed in one Place, and the Indians confessed they had thrown a Number into the River in Time of the Battle. So that it is possible the slain on both sides are about equal. We had twenty-five Killed and one hundred and forty wounded. The Indians were headed by their Chief, the Cornstalk Warrior, who, in his plan of March and Retreat, discovered great Military Skill. Amongst the slain on our Side were Col. Charles Lewis, Col. John Field, Capt. Buford, Capt. Murray, Capt. Ward, Capt. Wilson, Capt. Robert McClanaghan, Lieut. Allen, Lieut. Goldsby, Lieut. Dillen and other subaltern officers.

Col. Field had raised his Company as I believe under no particular Instructions, and seemed from the Time he joined our Army at Camp Union, to assume an Independence, not subject to the Control of others. His claims to such privileges might have risen from some former military Service, in which he had been engaged, which entitled him to a Rank, that ought to relieve him from being subject to Control by Volunteer Commanders, and when we marched from Camp Union he took a separate

Route, and on the third day after our Departure, two of his Men, of the Name of Coward and Clay, who left the Company to look for Deer for Provisions as they marched, fell in with two Indians on the Waters of the little Meadows. As Clay passed round the Root of a large log, under which one of the Indians was concealed, he killed Clay, and running up to scalp him, Coward killed him, being at some Distance behind Clay. They both fell together on the same spot; the other Indian fled and passed our Scouts unarmed. A Bundle of Ropes was found where they killed Clay, which manifested their intention was to steal Horses. Col. Field joined us again that Evening and separated no more until we arrived at Point Pleasant, the Mouth of the great Kanahway.

After the Battle we had different Accounts of the Number of Indians that attacked us. Some asserted there were upwards of one Thousand; some said no more than four or five hundred. The correct Number was never known to us; however, it was certain they were combined of different nations, Shawanees, Winedotts and Delawares. Of the former there is no Doubt the whole strength of the Nation was engaged in the Battle. And on the Evening of the Day before the Battle, when they were about to cross over the River, the Cornstalk proposed to the Indians, if they were agreed, he would come and talk with us and endeavor to make Peace, but they would not listen to him. The next day, as we are informed, he killed one of the Indians for retreating in the Battle in a cowardly manner. I could hear him the whole Day speaking to his men very

loudly, and one of my Company, who had once been a prisoner, told me what he was saying was encouraging the Indians, saying: "be strong, be strong."

None will suppose we had a contemptible Enemy with whom to do, who has any knowledge of the Exploits performed by them. It was chiefly the Shawnees that cut off the British Army under Genl. Braddock in the year 1755, and nineteen years before our Battle, when the Genl. himself, and Sir Peter Hackett, second in Command, were both slain, and a mere remnant of the whole Army only escaped. And they were they who defeated Maj. Grant and his Scotch Highlanders at Fort Pitt in 1758, when the whole of the Troops were killed and taken prisoners. And after our Battle they defeated all the Flower of the first bold and intrepid Settlers of Kentucky at the Battle of the Blue Licks. There fell Col. John Todd and Col. Stephen Trigg. The whole of their men were almost all cut to pieces. Afterwards they defeated the United States Army over the Ohio, commanded by Genl. Harmer, and lastly they defeated Genl. Arthur St. Clair's great Army with prodigious Slaughter.

I believe it was never before known that so many Indians were ever killed in any Engagement with the White People as fell by the Army of Genl. Lewis at Point Pleasant. They are now dwindled to Insignificance, and no longer noticed, and Futurity will not easily perceive the prowess of which they were possessed. Of all the Indians the Shawnees were the most bloody and terrible, holding all other Men, Indians as well as White Men, in Contempt as Warriors, in com-

parison with themselves. This opinion made them more restless and fierce than any other Savages, and they boasted that they had killed ten Times as many white people as any other Indians had. They were well-formed, active and ingenious people; were assuming and imperious in the presence of others not of their own Nation, and sometimes very cruel.

Genl. Lewis's Army were all chiefly young Volunteers, well trained in the Woods to the use of Arms, as hunting in those days was much practised and preferred to Agriculture by enterprising young men. The produce of the soil was of little Value on the West side of the Blue Ridge; the Ways bad and the Distance too great to market to make it esteemed. Such pursuits inured them to Hardships and Danger.

We had more than every fifth man in our Army killed or wounded in the Battle, but none was disheartened. All crossed the River, fully determined to destroy the Enemy, with Cheerfulness, and had they not been restrained by the Governour's Orders, I believe they would have exterminated the Shawnee Nation.

This Battle was in Fact the beginning of the revolutionary war that has obtained for our Country the Liberty and Independence enjoyed by the United States (and a good presage of future success), for it is well known the Indians were influenced by the British to commence the War, to terrify and confound the people before they, the British, commenced Hostilities themselves the following year at Lexington, in Massachusetts.

It was thought by British Politicians that to excite an Indian War would pre-

vent a Combination of the Colonies to the opposing of parliamentary measures to tax the Americans; therefore the blood spilt in this memorable Battle will long be remembered by all the good Citizens of Virginia and the United States with Gratefulness.

The Indians passed over the Ohio River in the Night Time after the Battle, and made the best of their Way back to the Shawnee Towns on the Sciota. And after burying our Dead, Gen'l Lewis ordered Intrenchments to be made round our Camp by extending across from the Ohio to the Kanahway, to secure the wounded, under an officer, with an adequate Number of Men to protect them in safety, and marched his Army across the Ohio for the Shawnee Towns. In this Command he had many difficulties to encounter, of which none can well judge who has never experienced similar Troubles, to preserve order and necessary Discipline over an Army of Volunteers, who had no knowledge of the use of Discipline or military order, when in an Enemy's Country well skilled in their own Manner of Warfare. And it is well remembered that the youth of our Country, previous to those Times, had grown up in Times of peace, and were quite unacquainted with military operations of any kind. Ignorance of these Duties, together with high Notions of Independence and Equality of Condition, rendered the Service extremely difficult and disagreeable to the Commander, who was by nature of a lofty and high military Spirit, and who had seen much military Service under Gen'l Braddock and other Commanders.

FRENCH COLONIZATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Advice from France. Monsieur d'Iberville, who was sent to make a Discovery of the River *Misissipi*, return'd to *Rochel* the 29th of the last month, having performed the charge of his Commission with as good success as could be expected from him. He found the Mouth of the River very much pest'er'd by the fall of several great Trees, which hinder the entrance of great Ships, though the water was very deep. He says the Current is very rapid; however he made a shift to Row against the Stream with two Shallops, and two Canots made of the Bark of Trees, above a Hundred Leagues up the River as far as a certain place, where the same River forms a little Arm, by which he came back. Having made all these Observations, he Order'd a Wooden Fort to be built at the Mouth of the River, with four Bastions, and Garrison'd it with 24 Men. He also caus'd to be sown in the Lands adjoining, all sorts of Grain that grow in *France*; which Grains were come up before his departure, which was the 31st of May. He return'd through the Strait of *Bahama*; the Advantage of this Establishment is, that the New Fort is not above 60 Leagues distant from the Southern Savages with whom the French trade.—*The State of Europe, July, 1699.*

Advice from France. Since the Discovery of the River *Missisipi* in *America*, there has been another more considerable made by Eleven Frenchmen, about Eight Years ago, but of which no Infor-

mation was giv'n till within this little while, as well by advice from *St. Domingo*, whither one of these Discoverers, after some Hardships, got safe with much ado; as also from *Brest* where another of these Discoverers landed about the beginning of this month. Both report, that sailing up the River *Missisipi* in *Canada*, they saw another River to the North-West which was to them unknown. They sailed up this River, and after a Navigation of about 300 Leagues, they met with a Civiliz'd People very Courteous, and by whom they were receiv'd and treated very kindly. Nor were they less surpris'd by the magnificence of the People, who made use of nothing but Gold for every thing, and made so slight of it, that they let 'em carry away as much as they could load in their Canou. But in their return they were taken by the English then at War with *France*. They add that the English not being satisfy'd with their Booty, would needs know of their prisoners where they had it: which the French not being willing to discover, they put three to the Rack, who dy'd under their Torments, without making any Discovery. That the rest fearing the same Usage, took part with the English, except the two above mention'd, who escaping different ways, yet agree in their Report. Some Geographers, to who the Court order'd that this discovery should be made, judge by the Situation of this River, that if you could ascend as high as the Spring, which must come from the West, you might afterwards find a way to go to *Japan* which they believe to be not far distant. But this may be joined together with the news of the Archbishop of Cambray, that

is to say it wants confirmation. — *The State of Europe, May, 1700.*

Advice from France. Our Settlement at the Mouth of the *Mississippi* will cost us much more Pains and Trouble before it is brought to Perfection. In the mean time it makes the English no less jealous than the Spaniards. The first had a design to have made themselves Masters of our Fort, and came up with two Frigates, and Three Hundred Men, but finding Two of the King's Men of War in the Road, they retreated, after they had paid several Civilities to the Commanders, and eaten with 'em several times. Another English Ship of Twelve Guns sail'd up the River above thirty Leagues beyond our Fort, but M. *d'Iberville* forc'd her to return, and at the same time took an Englishman who treated with the Savages, our Confederates. He came into that Country through the River *Oye*, which after a Course of Two hundred Leagues, throws itself into the *Mississippi* Two hundred and Twenty Leagues from the Mouth. The Englishman was sent to *Quebeck* in order to be conveyed into *England*; by his Example to make the English desist from Trading in that Country. We have discover'd Two other Mouths of the River *Mississippi*, besides that upon which our Fort is built. Now in regard to whatever we sowed in the Parts thereof it has produced nothing, because the Ground is dry and sandy. M. *d'Iberville* has caused another Fort to be built about Thirty-five Leagues to the North-West upon good Land. 'Tis believ'd that the New Fort is not above Fifty Leagues from the Mines of

Zacathea, but that Discovery being yet in its Infancy we can expect no benefit from it so soon. The same Commander had sailed very high up the River, and join'd M. de Tonti who gave him several skins for which he had traffick'd in his way. They were like Cow Hides of an extraordinary Bigness cover'd with wool, and which would be of great use for Coaches; but before his Departure he was to conclude an Alliance with a very numerous Nation, adjoining to New Mexico, and an irreconcilable Enemy of the Spaniards, with whom they are always at Wars.—
The State of Europe, August, 1700.

Advice from France. 'Tis confidently reported that M. d'Iberville is departed this Life at Rochel; which if it be true, the Discovery of Mississippi is like to come to nothing. Yet there is a letter written from Rochefort, to a person of quality in Paris, which contains a short Account of M. d'Iberville's last Voyage. Says the Author of that Letter "The River of Mississippi might dispute in Beauty with the most Renowned Rivers in the World, were it not for a Shelf that lies before the Mouth of it, where there is not above Ten Foot Water, so that none but small Frigates and Flat Bottom'd Boats can get into it. The Banks of it are cover'd with great high Trees, embrac'd by Bastard Vines, that bear grapes very beautiful to the Sight, but no way pleasant to the Taste. The Channel of the River is twice as large as that of the Seine, keeping the same breadth all along. The Stream is rapid, though it be full of Windings and Turnings from the North-West for above Nine Hundred Leagues. Among others, it receives into it, Two considerable

Rivers, which the Natives of the Country call *Ouabache* and *Missoury*. The first runs a long course from the North-East, but we have only an imperfect knowledge of it. Hunting and Fishing are equally plentiful; we saw there Cows that bare Wool of a prodigious Bigness and Roe-Bucks in great Numbers, that are both delightful and profitable. Rowing up the River, we met with above Fifty Forts of Savage Nations, as well upon the Banks as in the Parts adjoining, the most numerous of which did not amount to above One thousand Men; the people are well set, and tall enough but without any Religion; and they frequently make War upon one another for the possession of Women; striving to enlarge our Discovery, we lit upon one of these Nations, who upon our Arrival were so kind as to leap upon our shoulders in Sign of Peace, and pushed on their Civility so far, as to rock us all night; but we admitted the impertinent Ceremony for fear of worse. We saw 'em throw three Children into the Fire, by way of Sacrifice, upon Occasion of Thunder, and they would have sacrific'd Seven, according to Custom, had we not given 'em to understand that such a barbarous Action rather provok'd than appeas'd the grand Thunderer. They still preserve some Remains of Ancient Paganism, as to kill a great Number of Men and Women upon the death of their principal Sovereign, to bear him Company, and it is a great Favour to obtain leave to follow the dead into the other world. They knock their old People o' th' Head, out of a Principle of Charity, and they carefully preserve their Bones in a Temple like a *Duomo*, where a

Sacred Fire burns Night and Day in Honour of their Dead. I know not how the Spaniards of *Mexico* will like our Neighborhood. They show'd themselves some days after our Arrival, with their Fire Arms in their hands, doubtless to have given us a short Summons to depart the Country, but finding us more numerous than themselves they pretended they came to pay us a Visit, which occasioned a kind Reception on our side. We had a great deal of Discourse of the Country, but all to no purpose."—*The State of Europe, October, 1700.*

NOTES

PAANPAACK THE SITE OF TROY, N. Y. Brodhead, in his History of the State of New York, vol. I. p. 534, referring to the several purchases of land from the Indians, by Van Rensselaer's agent Van Slechtenhorst, states:—"He (Van Slechtenhorst) had just purchased for his patroon two large additional tracts on the east side of the river; one called 'Paanpaack,' including the site of the present city of Troy, and another further north, called 'Panhoosic.'"

The name "Paanpaack," since its appearance in history, has been generally assumed to be an Indian designation of the territory in which Troy is now situated. This acceptance of the word, as may appear upon investigation, has not sufficient evidence to sustain it. The eminent historian, in the way in which he employs the term, does not directly affirm that it was an Indian title for the aforesaid tract of land. In the preparation of the History of the City of Troy, after

a protracted and careful search among the Indian records in the office of the Secretary of State, I was satisfied that the authority for the use of the word was not to be found among those valuable documents.

My next attempt to discover its origin was an examination of the local Indian language as investigated by well-known writers. This endeavor was as unsatisfactory and as fruitless as the previous investigation. These disappointments, although compelling me, at the time, to relinquish further search, and to make no mention of it in the History of the City of Troy, however, did not wholly abstract my attention from the subject. Subsequently I began to consider it as belonging to the Dutch language. Etymologically, no such word or compounded term was discoverable. Then I conceived that possibly the word was mis-spelled, and that it should be considered phonetically. Sound, as the result proved, was the key to its sense. I found quite readily that "Pont," a ferry, and "Pacht" or "Pagt," a farm, compounded into Pontpacht, a farm-ferry, was of similar tone with "Paanpaack."

Why this word should be applied to the territory in question, is easily understood. When the land above Albany began to be occupied and cultivated by the early settlers, some public crossing place, where the river was not fordable, was a local necessity. Previous to the year 1786, when the site of Troy was well-known as Vanderheyden's (farm) ferry, the old land conveyances as early as 1675 referred to roads running to the river, which undoubtedly indicate a place of crossing by boat

Since Mr. Brodhead's death in 1873, there no longer exists a mode of personal inquiry regarding his authority for the use of the word. Hence the question whether he employed it, being orally informed that it was early known as Pontpacht, and wrote it Paanpaack, or had some unknown documentary evidence which gave it as an Indian designation, is an open one. The name "Panhoosic," I think, has the same relative signification, and is also a Dutch term. Apparently it is from "Pont," a ferry and from "Woeste, Woestijne," or "Woestenij," a waste or wilderness. The two interpretations correspond with the history of the above places, for while in one was a farm-ferry in the other was a wilderness-ferry, or a ferry in a territory which was uncultivated and unsettled.

Troy, N. Y.

A. J. WEISE.

INDIAN AND FRENCH HISTORY IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.—In reading the interesting article in the January number of the Magazine by O. H. Marshall, Esq., in which the writer, in a review of Champlain's expedition against the Onondagas in 1615, points out a discrepancy between the text of the narrative and the accompanying map; the suggestion came to me to call attention to an error in the map (vol. 2, p. 52) in the memoirs of M. Pouchot of the war between the French and the English in 1755-60; translated and edited by F. B. Hough in 1866.

On this map the River Schatacoin is erroneously laid down as the outlet of Chautaugue lake, a stream now known as the Congewango creek.

According to Pouchot, the first transportation from Lake Erie to the Ohio

river was by the Chatacoin river, but the French finding the waters of that stream too shallow, preferred the route by the Rivière aux Boeufs.

Now the locality of both these streams is well established; the Chatacoin creek being the stream which flows through Leboeuf lake at Waterford, in Erie County, Pennsylvania, and the Rivière aux Boeufs (of which the Chatacoin is a tributary) being the stream now known as French Creek, the original Indian name being Toradakoin.

In the History of Western Pennsylvania, &c., published in 1847, by W. O. Hickok, at p. 35, is given a copy of an inscription on a medal deposited on the 29th day of July, 1749, by Louis Celeron, Commandant, &c., at the junction of the Belle Rivière (Ohio) and the Toradakoin (now French Creek) to indicate the claim made to the territory by the French Government

The name Chadacoin is differently spelled by different writers; sometimes it is written Chatacoin, sometimes Schatacoin, and in Pouchot's memoirs in vol. I. p. 178, an Indian chief is referred to named Chatacouen.

Indian names are often significant, and if any of your readers know the meaning of either Chatakoin, or Toradakoin, I should be grateful for the information. The French probably found Buffalo feeding along these streams, which led to names Lake Le Bœuf and Rivière aux Bœufs, as these animals came as far east as the Allegheny river within the period of the first white settlements. Lake Le Bœuf still retains the name given to it by the French, but the river, as before stated, is now known as French Creek.

A location first chosen sixteen miles east of Erie was abandoned, and in 1753, at Erie, was constructed the Fort known as Fort Presqu' Isle. Some attempt may have been made to use the Chatacoin (now Lebœuf Creek) for navigation, but the French, soon after building the Fort on Lake Erie, constructed a road (variously stated as fifteen and twenty-one miles long) from it to Fort Le Bœuf, and carried their provisions and munitions of war in boats from thence to the Ohio river by the Rivière aux Bœufs (now French Creek), and no mention is any where made of transportation by Chautauque Lake and the Conewango Creek.

The French had two forts near the mouth of French Creek on opposite sides of the stream, viz.: Forts Michault, which is referred to in cotemporaneous accounts as a mean or insignificant structure, and Fort Venango, of a somewhat more elaborate character. Pouchot makes mention of Fort Michault in several places, viz.: in vol. I. at p. 132, where the French are narrated as having retreated to it from Fort Du Quesne; and in the same vol. at p. 206, where the French, in 1759, are said to have abandoned Forts Michault and Prequ' Isle, and to have retired to Detroit.

On the other hand, in the letters of Genl. Washington, Fort Venango is the only one referred to.

The site of Fort Michault, with the lapse of time, had become wholly unknown, but has lately been re-established by an old map made of it in 1753, by Judge Shippen of Pennsylvania, who, in making a draft of it, fortunately gave the points of compass connecting it with some permanent natural landmarks. An ex-

amination of these locates it with satisfactory precision, and in harmony with the few historic references to it now extant.

It will be noticed that under the French in 1753, the stream called the Belle Rivière (now the Ohio), extended northwards so as to include a part of what is now designated as the Allegheny river.

The name, Venango, according to the Rev. Timothy Alden, Editor of the Allegheny Magazine in 1816, and occasionally a missionary to the Indians on the reservation in Warren County, Pa., came from an obscene picture carved on a tree at the mouth of French Creek. The translator of Pouchot in a note says it is derived from a Seneca word, *un-num-dah*.

It would seem that a more natural derivation of this name might be found in the original Indian word for the place as given in Genl. Washington's letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, of April 27, 1754, viz.: Weningo. A rendition also given by several writers of that period.

As the French have no W in their alphabet, and use a V in place of it, and also pronounce nin very much like nan to the common ear, the transition from Weningo to Venango, under French occupancy, seems easy and natural.

According to tradition, as stated in Heckewelder's Indian Nations, two large Tribes several centuries ago emigrated from west of the Mississippi, giving to that stream the name of Namœsi Sipu, or river of Fish, from whence the present name is derived. These two tribes, the Lenni Lenape, and the Mengwe, uniting their forces, made war on the prior occupants of the country,

the Allegheny Indians, and drove them southwards out of the territory east of the Mississippi. The name Mengwe seems in time to have been corrupted into Mingo, and came into use to designate the confederate tribes known as the Iroquois or Six Nations.

That the Mingo Indians had settlements in the valley of French Creek is well known. In *Western Annals*, p. 303, it is stated that Genl. Brodhead, in 1779, was sent to strike at the Mingo and Munsey Indians upon French Creek.

Whether Mengwe, Mingo, Weningo and Venango, spring from some common root in the Indian tongue may be an interesting subject for a philologist making a study of the aboriginal languages.

Meadville, Pa. A. HUIDEKOPER.

THE GERM OF OUR PRESENT STEAM NAVY.—Looking over some little books at the Navy Department the other day for another purpose I chanced upon several letters showing the beginning of our present steam navy forty years ago. From them I made some extracts which may be acceptable for your pages. Previous to 1837 we had in the navy the steam Battery Fulton Ist, launched at the close of the war of 1812-14, accidentally destroyed soon after, and the steam Galliot Sea Gull, employed in Porter's Musquito fleet, for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. But Fulton IId, in 1837, was beyond question the pioneer steam war vessel of our present naval organization.

Oct. 31, 1837. The Secretary of the Navy authorizes Captain M. C. Perry "to appoint two first class and two second class assistant engineers. The

appointments to be confirmed by the Commandant of the Station." "The Engineers must receive from you" he adds, "a letter of appointment revocable at any time by the Commanding Officer of the Station, upon complaint of intemperance, incapacity, insubordination, negligence or other misconduct, preferred by the Commander of the Steamer, if proved to the satisfaction of the Commanding Officer of the Station. The Commander of the Steamer of course to have the power of suspending them from duty if necessary. The Engineers must be required to sign some proper instrument of writing, which will legally make them liable to this law for the government of the Navy, but to be exempt from corporal punishment, which instrument is to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Navy, with their letters accepting their appointments."

Nov. 7, 1837. The Secretary of the Navy wrote Capt. Perry, The Fulton was allowed, as recommended by the Commissioners of the Navy and approved by the Navy Department,

2 First Class Engineers at \$800 per annum each.
2 Second " " at \$500 per annum each.
4 Coal Heavers at \$15 per month.
8 Firemen at \$25 to \$30 per month.

Both Firemen and Coal heavers to sign the ordinary ship's articles, and to be removable at the pleasure of the Commander of the vessel, as authorized for the reduction of petty officers and seamen. "If additional coal heavers should be found necessary some of the seamen or ordinary seamen of the vessel might be designated by the commander to perform that duty." He next writes as follows:

"Navy Department, *Nov. 21, 1837.*

"Capt. M. C. Perry, Com'dg Str. Fulton,
New York,

"Sir: Your letter of the 16th inst., relative to the Engineers of the Fulton and their uniforms has been received.

"*The adoption of a uniform* such as you may approve, if agreeable to those at whose expense it is to be provided, meets with the sanction of the Department, and it is also desirable, as mentioned in your letter, that none be appointed Engineers but those of the very best standing. I am, respectfully, &c.,

M. Dickenson,

Sect'y of the Navy."

A letter dated *Dec. 19, 1837*, authorizes Capt Perry to employ, agreeable to his request, four firemen additional.

Dec. 21, 1837, the Secretary writes him "Your communication of the 17th inst. has been received, with its several enclosures, and the appointments of Assistant Engineers which you have made, as well as the measures you have taken in regard to the engagements, &c., of the Engineers, Firemen and others of the Steamer Fulton are approved by the Department."

Feb. 13, 1838, the Secretary writes Capt. Perry that he approves of his suggestion; and says: "I have directed Commodore Ridgeley to place on board the Fulton five apprentices to the Navy, who are to be under the particular charge of the Engineers (one to each) and exclusively attached to the Engineers, and to be shipped and paid as other apprentices."

Feb. 21, 1839, the Secretary authorizes the pay of a 2d Asst. Engineer on board the Fulton to be increased from \$500 to \$600 from the 1st of March next.

March 1, 1839, he authorizes "the salary of such Engineers as now receive \$800 to be increased to \$900."

In this connection it may be interesting to note, as showing the rapid rise in importance of our steam navy, that just forty years after this commencement its personnel in 1877 consists of:

10 *Chief Engineers* on the active list ranking *relatively* with Captains in the Navy, one of whom, as Chief Engineer of the Bureau of Steam Engineering, has the relative rank of Commodore.

15 *Chief Engineers* with the relative rank of Commander.

45 *Chief Engineers* with the relative rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

89 *Passed Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Lieutenant.

4 *Passed Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

24 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

23 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Ensigns.

16 *Cadet Engineers*, Graduates.

51 *Cadet Engineers* at the Naval Academy.

ON THE RETIRED LIST.

5 *Chief Engineers* with relative rank of Lieutenant-Commander.

15 *Passed Assistant Engineers*, with relative rank of Lieutenant.

23 *Assistant Engineers* with the relative rank of Master.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE.

JETTIES IN THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.
—David Thomas, in his *Travels through the Western Country*, published in the year 1819, gives the following description of a process somewhat similar to that so successfully employed by Mr. Eads on

the Mississippi. "At Buffalo I was fortunate in finding Capt. Butler, on his way to open Grand river, where a company is formed for that purpose. Capt. Butler has made himself celebrated by opening eight bars from Middletown to Hartford, on Connecticut river, so as to admit the free passage of nine feet instead of five feet water. His plan is novel, simple, cheap and effectual. It is merely to drive in piles over a sand bar, from the opposite sides, to leave a sufficient opening, and then fill in brush. The first freshet settles the sand among it, so as to form a complete beach, and by pressure of the water through the passages, a permanent channel is forced open."

W. K.

NEW YORK JUSTICE TO JEWS.—"Hart Jacobs, a Jew, attending at the door, requests an exemption from doing duty on the City Watch on Friday nights, which is part of his Sabbath, thereupon a certificate was given to him in the words following, to-wit:

"Hart Jacobs, of the Jewish religion having signified to this Committee that it is inconsistent with his religious profession to perform military duty on Friday nights being part of the Jewish Sabbath, it is

"Ordered. That he be exempted from military duty on that night of the week, to be subject nevertheless to the performance of his full hours of duty on other nights."—*Journal of the Committee of Safety, New York, January 22, 1776.*

A.

THE WEAKER VESSEL. — Whereas, Mary, my lawful Wife, has behaved in a

very indecent Manner, refusing a virtuous Compliance with the Apostle's Injunctions to Wives; but on the contrary has made sundry Attempts to take away my Life, by stabbing me with Knives and Forks, beating me with the Distaff, Tongs and Hammer; scratching and biting me very inhumanly; and has now eloped from my Bed and Board, and refuses to cohabit with me: I therefore forbid all Persons harbouring or trusting her on my Account, for I will not pay any Debt of her contracting, after this Date. And as she has privately conveyed away a Number of valuable Articles of my Houshold Furniture, I also forbid any Person whatsoever concealing any such Articles on Penalty of the Law.

Pomfret.

Jonathan Soule.

Connecticut Gazette, May 8, 1778.

W. K.

FRANKLIN A TYPE-FOUNDER.—"Philadelphia, Feb. 25, 1786. I do hereby certify, whom it may concern, that the Printing Types, with which I have furnished Mr. Francis Child, contained in fifteen boxes, marked B. F., No. 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 38, 53, 54, 59, 60, were made in my House, at Passy, by my servants, for my use, and were never the property of any European letter-founder, manufacturer, or merchant whatsoever.

B. Franklin,

Late Minister for the United States
at the Court of France."

F. M.

CHURCH OR MEETING-HOUSE.—In the recent discussions concerning the tower from which the Signal Lantern was hung out in Boston on the Eve of the Battle

of Lexington it has been maintained that the "meeting-houses" were not called churches, that term being generally applied to Episcopal places of worship. This is the opinion of the writer, yet I give the following for what it is worth, from Bowen's *Geography* (London, 1747) vol. II. p. 679:

"Here are ten churches of all denominations, whereof six are Independents, the most prevailing in *New England*; so that the number of its Professors in *Boston* alone, is computed at about fourteen or fifteen *thousand*. Their Churches or Places of Worship, are stiled, 1. The Old Church, because it is the mother of the rest. 2. The North Church. 3. The South Church. 4. The New Church. 5. The New North Church. 6. The South Church. The first four come nearest the Presbyterians, they recite the Lord's Prayer in the publick Worship, as well as admit Persons to their Communion, without demanding a publick Confession, or the acknowledgement of a particular Church-Covenant. The other four Churches are 1. The Episcopal Church handsomely built and adorned, whose congregation is said to consist of about a thousand members. King *William* and Queen *Mary* gave them a Pulpit-cloth, a Cushion and a Piece of Painting, which reaches from the Bottom to the Top of the East End of the Church, containing the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed. *Thomas Brattle*, Esq., gave a Pair of Organs to it; and there's a magnificent Pew built at the Publick Charge for the Reception of the Governor, when he happens to be of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Uring* says that in 1710 when he

was here, the Church was of Wood but that another was then building of Brick. 2. The French Church. 3. The Baptist Meeting. 4. The Quakers' Meeting."

Captain Uring ("A History," &c., London, 1726, p. 111,) says of Boston: "It is very populous, and has in it Nine large Meeting Houses, and a *French* Church, and but one *English*, and that built of Wood; but I am informed, since I was in that Country, they have another building with Brick."

When Richard Devens wrote of the "N. Ch." I presume he meant Christ Church, but, according to Bowen, the North Meeting House also had the same name. D.

A LONG ISLAND LOCAL.—*South-Haven*, February 10, 1758. For the Information of the Publick, Notice is hereby given, That the Place formerly call Setacut-South (otherwise the Fire-Place), which lies at the South Side of Long Island, opposite the Town of Brook Haven, that the new Parish thereon lately erected, whereof the Revd. Mr. Abner Reeves is Minister, has by a general Vote at the last Town Meeting obtained the name of South-Haven, Which new Name they are desired to remember in all Letters directed to these Parts for the Future.—*N. Y. Mercury*, Feb. 20, 1758. W. K.

FIRST CANNON CAST IN THE REVOLUTION.—Died at Petersburg, 13th inst., Mr. John Marshall, founder, aged 77. He was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to America in 1768. He cast the first cannon made in the United States, during the Revolutionary War, at Captain Charles Ridgely's Works, Maryland.

He also gave the first draft of a boring mill for boring cannon.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, Sept. 22d, 1826.

A. H.

UNIFORM OF LAFAYETTE'S COMMAND.

—A letter from camp on the 24th of April, says, "The Marquis de la Fayette has borrowed, on his own credit, two thousand pounds hard money to purchase cloathing for the troops; and the first ladies in Baltimore are busily engaged in making up shirts, frocks and overalls for them."—*Massachusetts Spy*, May 17, 1781.

W. K.

THE POPHAM COLONY.—On the 13th September last, according to the *Brunswick Telegraph*, the Maine Historical Society had an interesting field day at Sheepscot. Among the "Bottom facts" referred to was the statement that upon the breaking up of the Popham Colony one ship and a fly boat remained behind with forty-five men. This ship is said to have been the "Gift of God." It is also said, on the authority of Strachey, that besides the store house, "fifty houses" were built.

The writer of this quite agrees with the members of the Maine Society respecting the importance of early colonization in that State. There is no doubt of the fact, that from the close of the colony in 1608 onward, Sir John Popham continued to prosecute his work at Pemaquid. The supposed "facts," however, have nothing to do with the matter; and, indeed, are not facts at all. The discovery, if I may employ the term, of one of the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, recently found by the writer in England, affords

the means of correcting certain errors respecting the Colony. Therefore, I will say that the forty-five men referred to were those left behind the *first winter*.

Also, that there were only two vessels in the Popham fleet, the fly-boat referred to being another name for the "Gift of God." All went home together. There being only forty-five men left behind in the colony during the winter, the reader will readily see that Strachey's "fifty houses" should read *five*. Strachey also precipitated hot discussions respecting the exploration of the Kennebec by causing the colonists to sail up stream *forty* leagues, when, according to the journal of the pilot, he should have said *fourteen*.

B. F. D.

GROWTH OF CALIFORNIA.—The venerable Professor Forrest Shepherd says in a letter to one of his classmates: "The first school-house in Sacramento Valley, Cal., was built on my own land, and at my own expense, in 1849, when labor was \$16.00 per day, and lumber \$750.00 per thousand. In this school-house four Christian churches were organized the first four months ensuing, in addition to a flourishing sabbath school and day school." P. CLARK.

GEN. HAMILTON'S BENEVOLENCE.—The following extract from a letter printed in the *Washington City Gazette*, in the year 1818, is worthy of preservation as showing a pleasant trait in the character of Alexander Hamilton.

"As soon as it was generally known that Philadelphia had become the seat of government, a great number of the soldiers who had served in the revolutionary army,

flocked to that city—some to apply for pensions, others for arrears of pay, but all of them destitute of money: and as it was supposed that the building occupied by the Treasury department was the depository of the public Funds, the doors were frequently besieged by that meritorious class of men. I do not know what success their applications met with from other persons; but the rule prescribed by Genl. Hamilton for his own government was this:—If the applicant appeared able to work, he gave him two dollars for present subsistence; if he showed a wound, he received five dollars; and if he lost a leg or an arm, ten dollars. In this manner did that benevolent man evince his regard for the soldiers who had fought and bled to establish the liberties of their country; and when his funds were exhausted, it was his constant practice to come into the rooms occupied by the clerks, and borrow from every one who had a dollar to lend!

After Genl. Hamilton had resigned, and was on the point of leaving Philadelphia, he placed in my hands a large number of notes for collection, under a strict injunction not to apply to the parties for payment.

To relieve my brother officers in the revolutionary war, said he, I have incurred a debt, to discharge which I shall be under the necessity of selling my house in N. Y., and as it may not be in the power of the obligors to take up their notes immediately, it is not my wish to subject them to inconvenience. After a considerable lapse of time the notes were all paid, and I have in my possession the General's letter acknowledging the receipt of the same.

"Among the very few enjoyments that remain to me"—says this old Philadelphian, who signs himself *Senex*—"at my advanced period of life, there is none which affords me so much pleasure as to observe that the opinions which, during the party spirit, had been entertained to the prejudice of this honest and enlightened Statesman, are undergoing a rapid change in his favor."

T. F. DE V.

INDIAN BILLS OF FARE.—Few lovers of cornbread and of hominy are aware that the names "Pone" and "Hominy" are Indian names. Of course most readers know that corn is Indian maize, but most eaters imagine that our methods of preparing corn for food are modern. Webster gives "*Paune*" as an Indian name synonymous with "Pone." But he defines the latter as "a kind of bread made in the Southern States, of corn meal with eggs and milk," and as an Americanism. So "Hominy" he gives as an Americanism, derived from "auhumi-ne-a, parched corn, an Indian word." Father White, in his *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, speaking of the Susquehannocs of Maryland, says: "Victitant plerumque pulte quem *Pone* et *Omini* appellat." "They live mostly by a pulse or paste, which they call Pone and Omini," which, he adds, are both made from "tritico (indico)," Indian wheat, or corn. This was in 1633.

Again, that exquisite substitute for egg-plant, far more delicate in flavor, and far less gross in substance, which the writer always thought the invention of mother necessity in bellum days—fried squash or cymling, is as old a dish as

Omini. In the Relations des Jesuites, 1688—ed. 1869—the feast which the Cayugas set before the missionaries at Kente was “Citronilles (squashes) fricasseed with grease.” What next?

H. E. H.

NEW READINGS BY OUR TYPO.—The decline of tragedy from the good old days when Macbeth was *murdered* once a week at least at the Bowery Theatre, seems to rankle in the mind of our compositor. In our last number (I. 631) he wickedly transposed the word “murdered,” which Webster so fitly applied to the “Coalition,” and assigned it to the Scottish thane.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

FLAMENS.—(I. 563.) In Champlain’s narrative of his expedition against the Iroquois in 1615 mention is made of the “Flamens as going on trading expeditions to the fortieth degree.” Champlain sometimes spells the word Flamans, whence we infer these people were Flamands or Flemish. These were no doubt the Dutch. Hudson sailed up the North River in 1609, and several expeditions to trade with the Indians were sent out from Holland before the year 1614, when Manhattan Island was first settled. What Champlain meant by his phrase, “*d’où les Flamens vont traicter sur le quarantième degré*” (whence the Flamens go to trade on the fortieth degree) is not apparent, unless it be to the Illinois and Wabash country, which is on that parallel. The country from which the Flamans started on their trading expedition Champlain describes as seven days

journey from Cahiagué. Now Cahiagué, or St. Jean Baptiste, as called by the Jesuits, is a town in the Huron country, several degrees to the northward of the 40th parallel. Champlain informs us that the Flamans assisted the Iroquois in their wars. That the Flamans were European is certain, from the fact that those who were captured by the enemies of the Iroquois were released because they were supposed to be of the French settlement. Is there any collateral evidence that the Dutch pushed their trading expeditions as far as the Illinois as early as 1615, or is there an error in the latitude?

J. A. S.

MATHER’S SNOW STORM. — Cotton Mather, in his Christian Philosopher, published in 1721, says in his Essay on Snow, “We read of Heaven giving Snow like Wool. I have known it to give a Snow of Wool. In a Town of New England, called Fairfield, in a bitter snowy Night, there fell a Quantity of Snow, which covered a large frozen Pond, but of such a woollen Consistence, that it can be called nothing but Wool. I have a Quantity of it, that has been these many Years lying by me.” This story is not found in the American reprint. Mather was credulous, but was he imposed upon in this case? NOMAN.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE WELSH. —Rev. Morgan Jones’ statement in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1740, pp. 103–105. Can any of your readers inform me who was the author of it? It is certainly one of the most successful hoaxes ever perpetrated; for nearly a century and a half it has passed almost unchal-

lenged, and has been quoted by numerous authors in support of the claim that the Welsh discovered America in 1170. Very lately it has been quoted by Mr. Baldwin in his *Ancient America*, and *Pre-historic Nations*; by Bancroft in his *Native Races of the Pacific States*; and lastly it is the foundation stone of that book of blunders known as *America Discovered by the Welsh in 1170, A. D.*, by the Rev. Benj. F. Bowen. The statement purports to be furnished to the *Gentleman's Magazine* by Theophilus Evans, Vicar of St. David's in Brecon. I would like to know if Evans was one of the hoaxed, or if he was only a myth, and who was the author of Morgan Jones' pretended statement. I. C.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN PITTSBURGH.—Amory, in his *Life of James Sullivan*, states that one of these Societies was organized at Pittsburgh after Genet arrived as Minister. I have no doubt of the correctness of this statement, but in as much as the late H. M. Brackenridge has denied that there ever was such a society in Pittsburgh, I would be glad to know what authority Mr. Amory has for his statement. Can any of your readers give the desired information? I. C.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE WORD IROQUIS.—In a notice of the criticisms made on a little book published by Randolph & Co. on *Hiawatha*, we find a smile at "such harmonious conclusions as those of the *Herald* and the *Philadelphia Press*, the learning of the former being horrified by the provincialism of Iroquois rhyming with law, and the latter declaring that this provincialism is correct, though

shocked because Iroquois is also given as a rhyme to shore."

Which if either is right? DELTA.

FILIBUSTERS.—The following paragraph is taken from the *Monthly Mercury* for November 1697. "The pretensions of the Filibusters who were assisting at the taking of Cartagena are brought down to Twelve Hundred Thousand Livres." Is there any earlier mention of this term in America? H. S.

REPLIES

DEATH OF DIEGO VELAZQUEZ.—(I. 622.) In the "*Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Tomo IV. Madrid, 1844, page 232, there is one, from the Archives of the Indies, a Report, made by a certain Licentiate Baños, on the claim put forward in 1562 by an heir of the Governor to one-twentieth part of all the royal revenues from New Spain, dating from the death of his uncle, as due to him by said uncle's will, made in Cuba in 1524, together with other demands. This document is entitled: "Memorial or petition of Don Antonio Velazquez de Bazan, touching the favor sought from his Majesty as the nearest relation and heir of the Adelantado, Diego Velazquez, whose services are set forth from the year 1508 until that of 1524," &c., &c.

The Report of Baños, with all the Velazquez papers before him, admits that the will was made in 1524, and the claim, as the title of the Report states, is for revenues from 1524. The exact date of the death of the Governor is not given, but that it happened in 1524 there

can be no reasonable doubt. We are surprised that the learned De Noda, author of the article under the above heading, should not have seen this document, published over thirty years since. The paper occupies five pages in print, and contains details concerning the family of Velazquez, but nothing of historical importance.

Señor Don F. S. De Noda does not quote the *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, by Juan de Castellanos, published in 1589, in verse, the seventh *Elegia* being devoted to an *Elogio de Diego Velazquez de Cuéllar, adelantado*, etc. The date of his death is not given, and on that account the curious poem was perhaps not quoted.

The inscription on the Governor's tomb is copied also in Warden's *American or 4th part of the Art de Vérifier les dates*, Tom. VIII, 1837, under Cuba, page 240, note, from Don G. Quintero's *Memorias de Historia, segunda parte*, . . . *Noticias eclesiásticas*, etc. He says that the marble slab on which it is engraved is broken off at the top and bottom, and that it was found on the 26th of November, 1810, while excavations were being made in the Metropolitan church of Cuba. The first portion is lost, and as a few errors and omissions appear in the printed copy, we give Warden's as divided into lines.

..... | ETIAM SUMPTIBUS
HANC | INSULAM DEBEL-
LAVIT, ACPACIFICAVIT, | HIC JA-
CET NOBILISSIMUS, AC MAGNIFI-
CENTISSIMUS | DOMINUS DIDAC-
CUS VELASQUEZ, INSULARUM
YUCATANI PRÆSES, | QUI EAS
SUMMA OPERE DEBELLAVIT IN

HONOREM ET | GLORIAM DEI
OMNIPOTENTIS, AC [?] |
SUI REGIS: MIGRAVIT, ANNO
DOMINI M.D.XXII.

Though Quintero's copy ends with the above date, it is probable that two units are missing. It will be noticed also that MIGRAVIT is given as appearing distinctly when this copy was made.
J. C. B.

THE AUTHOR OF CANDIDUS—(I. 633.)
Rev. Charles Inglis, assistant Rector of Trinity Church, New York City, author of several clever essays against the proceedings of the Continental Congress, alarmed at the influence of "that artful and pernicious pamphlet" entitled "Common Sense," wrote an answer to it in February, 1776. The manuscript, with the statement that "it was composed by a gentleman at some considerable distance," was placed in the hands of Samuel Loudon, the well known printer, who after a careful examination decided to take the risk of its publication. It was set up and partly printed off when Loudon's advertisement in Gaine's New York Gazette drew the attention of the Sons of Liberty. They sent for the printer on the 18th of March and demanded the name of the author; being unable to furnish it, he was informed that they were determined to prevent the publication of any reply to "Common Sense"; six of their number visited his house, where they seized and boxed up the sheets. The same night about forty persons, led by Gerardus Duyckinck, entered the printing office and carried off the boxes to the Common, where they were burned.

Mr. Inglis forwarded a copy of his pamphlet to Philadelphia, where it met with better success, and was issued in April with the title of "Plain Truth; Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, Containing, Remarks on a late Pamphlet entitled Common Sense * * * Written by Candidus." W. K.

FOREIGN GRAPES IN AMERICA. — (I. 633.) Slips from English and French vines were planted in Virginia as early as 1610-19. RICHMOND.

FIDELITY OF THE ONEIDA INDIANS TO THE AMERICANS.—The note entitled "Indian Tribes hostile to the Americans during the Revolutionary War" (I. 253) does marked injustice to the Oneidas while it is not wholly correct as to the Tuscaroras. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas (Senecas) threw their whole force against the Americans, and 800 warriors for the latter would be much nearer the mark. The Oneidas, as a nation, were true to the Americans from the beginning to the end of the war, and this was well understood by the Continental Congress and all officers who served in the Northern Department, although a few individuals, governed by their cupidity or their fears, joined the British. To the influence of the late Judge James Dean, who acted as Indian Agent with the rank of Major, and of the missionary Kirkland, is mainly to be ascribed the loyalty and fidelity of the Oneidas to our cause. October 25, 1776, Gen. Herkimer wrote Gen. Schuyler as to a gathering at Oswego of 600 British regulars and 22 nations of Indians, but the Oneidas were not there. A belt

was sent by these Indians to the Oneidas, saying unless they joined them they, the Oneidas, would be attacked first, "and not a child's life would then be spared."

In a letter from Robert Gates to Gen. Schuyler, dated Oct. 31, 1776, he says, "A number of Tories, among them Peter Tenbrook and Hanyost Schuyler, who had recently fled towards Oswego, were followed by the Oneidas, for which they were threatened by the Onondagas."

This is the character the Oneidas sustained all through the war. As spies and scouts they were often in Canada, even in the councils of the Confederate tribes under Brant, and often returned with the most valuable information. It was thus the fact of St. Leger's expedition to Fort Stanwix via Oswego became known to Gen. Schuyler through Mr. Dean, the Indian Agent. The Tuscaroras as the "guests" and near neighbors of the Oneidas were very much under the same influences as the latter. The assumed neutrality of the Tuscaroras was at times a pretext, but it is understood that but a very few joined the British. M. M. J.

Utica, N. Y.

WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS. — (I. 572.) In reference to the remarks of Professor Butler on Wisconsin newspapers in the Magazine for September, those newspapers do not come within the period that is properly covered by Thomas' History of Printing. All that is said of them there is in a note from a high authority on such matters, and is simply this: "The Green Bay *Republican* was printed by W. Shoals in 1831 or 1832." Prof. Butler says the date should have been

1841 instead of 1831, and the name of the publisher (printer) should have been Henry O. instead of W. Shoals.

The important error of the writer of the note may have been a slip of his pen or that of his informant. There seem to have been several persons by the name of Shoals, or Sholes, connected with early printing in Wisconsin. Mr. A. G. Ellis, "the originator of the press in Wisconsin," in a letter to the Wisconsin Editorial Association in 1859, speaks of the Green Bay *Intelligencer* as having been sold in 1837 to C. C. Sholes, who became associated with his brother, C. L. Sholes, soon after which the publication of the *Intelligencer* at Green Bay came to an end. Though not started till 1833, the Prospectus of that paper was issued, Mr. Ellis says, in 1831.

Prof. Butler should correct the errors of the historians of his own State. In Tuttle's History of Wisconsin, Madison, 1875, p. 198, the Green Bay *Intelligencer* is said to have been established in August, 1836.

S. F. H.

Worcester, Mass.

FLOGGING IN THE U. S. NAVY.—(I. 543.) In your issue for September, in a biographical sketch, the following passage occurs.

"First filling the position of Secretary of the Navy ('*Jack remembering him to this day as the man who abolished flogging in the navy*')." How can this be true? I enlisted in the navy about the time Judge Upshur became Secretary, and served for three years and eight months. During the whole of that time flogging was a daily occurrence. I state this from personal knowledge. By common

report I knew of its continuance for some years afterward. C. A. F.

THE JERSEY BLUES.—(I. 260.) Captain Knox in his Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757-1760," thus describes the arrival of this corps at Amherst's camp at Oswego, 9 August, 1760:—"The Jersey Blues commanded by that brave, expert officer, Colonel Scuyler, joined the army yesterday and to-day; this is a disciplined regular corps; their uniform is blue faced with scarlet; a good body of men, and made a respectable appearance."

S.

OCTOBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Regular Monthly Meetings were resumed in the Hall of the Society, on the evening of Tuesday, October 2, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D. in the chair.

Among the large audience present, were the Hon. Morrison R. Waite, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society.

The Librarian reported a large list of additions to the library, and read some accompanying letters, among which was one from the Rev. Dr. Carter, presenting, on behalf of the Vestry of the Church of the Holy Saviour, a fine marble bust of the late Francis L. Hawkes, D.D., executed by David Richards; another from Horace J. Fairchild, Esq., of Manchester, England, with a

gift of a curious, framed certificate of membership in the New York Marine Society, issued to William Tryon, the last colonial Governor of New York, in 1774.

Among the deaths of members during the summer vacation, announced by the Recording Secretary, was that of the Hon. James William Beekman, Second Vice-President of the Society; a memorial minute of whom, prepared by request of the Executive Committee, by Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck, was read (in the absence of that gentleman, through illness) by Dr. Moore. This interesting sketch by a classmate and life-long friend of Mr. Beekman, appears at length in this number.

At the stated June meeting a memorial notice of Mr. John Lothrop Motley, prepared by the Hon. John Jay, and read to the Society, was referred to the Executive Committee, from whom a report was read, recommending that the thanks of the society be presented to Mr. Jay, and his paper be placed in the archives and a substitute submitted for the record. The substitute was read and the recommendation of the Committee adopted.

The paper of the evening was then read by Col. John Ward; the subject, "The Continental Congress before the Declaration of Independence." The basis of the essay our readers are familiar with in the Diary of Governor Samuel Ward, of Rhode Island, recently printed in full, in our pages. The value of this diary of one of the chief actors in these memorable scenes, can only be appreciated by those whose study having been turned to this period, are aware

of the extreme meagreness of the journals of the earlier Congresses. Governor Ward was for a long period Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and had an active part on the most important committees. He died at his post before the Declaration of Independence came up for discussion. His letters, from which Col. Ward made free use, are vigorous in style and statement, and fervent in their patriotism; alone, they would justify his claim to a high place in that illustrious body of whom Lord Chatham said that "having studied and admired the master States of the world, he could declare that for "solidity and reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of different circumstances, no nation or body of men could stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."

Rhode Islanders are justly proud of their State. No one of the old thirteen colonies can present a record of more ardent and intelligent patriotism. It has been related of Providence that when the news of the battle of Lexington reached the town every able-bodied man joined the Army of Observation, which marched to Cambridge camp. Rhode Island also was one of the first colonies to second the demand of New York for a Congress, and when the Congress was finally agreed upon Rhode Island was the first to appoint delegates.

Mr. Ward did full justice to his theme, and we wish that his paper with the original letters in full may be soon given to the public.

At the close of the address, the thanks of the Society were voted to Colonel Ward, and the meeting adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

COUNT FRONTENAC AND NEW FRANCE
UNDER LOUIS XIV., by FRANCIS PARKMAN.
16mo, pp. 463. LITTLE, BROWN & CO., Boston, 1877.

A second title announced this to be the fifth part of a Series of Historical Narratives, the subject of which is French American history. In his preface the author informs us that the next subject of this series—to the collection of materials for which he has devoted his life since his eighteenth year—to be "Montcalm and the Fall of New France."

There is no American writer living whose works are looked for with more eagerness and read with more pleasure by a certain class of readers, which we are glad to know daily increases in number, than those of Mr. Parkman. To an ease of diction he adds a grace of narrative and a picturesque coloring which please the æsthetic sense and invest the incidents he describes with an interest which never flags. In Count Frontenac he finds a dramatic figure ready to his hand. Following his eventful career from his first military experience in the service of the Prince of Orange to his death in 1698 in his seventy-eighth year, fidelity to history alone was sufficient to insure under treatment of less competent and less experienced hands a volume of value. From those of Mr. Parkman it has come a chiselled and finished work, perfect in its proportions and the relations of its details, enlivened with occasional passages of brilliant imagery which, though in more chastened style, recall his earlier works. Mr. Parkman is rather a chronicler than a historian; not that there is any want of deduction, but that he excels in the descriptive art. He narrates with the grace and verve and abundant imagery of a Froissart, and finds in the wilderness, with its impenetrable depths, crossed here and there by the wild Indians in their trails, the scene he likes the best. Now we see the stealthy savage lurking in the thicket, or following the trail with long loping step, and again, through the vistas of the tall trees, some priestly procession with cross and banner and gown, or perchance a hot contest between the rival whites and their savage allies. We almost see the strange accoutrements, catch the flash of the falling tomahawk and hear the shrill war whoop of attack or victory. In this field and in the portrayal of the marked characters who shaped the destinies of New France on the one side, or of the rival leaders who met their courage and their tenacity with a courage and tenacity no less than their own, Mr. Parkman has no equal.

But here, as in his former works, we find one opinion constantly repeated which we cannot share. No amount of French emigration, not

even Huguenot, could have secured the domination of the French race in America. No emigration could in the last century have maintained itself in power in America without constant communication with Europe. America might perchance have been conquered in an European war, in which the maritime power of Great Britain should have been destroyed, but so long as England held the sea her colonies, established on the middle coast, were secure from other than temporary inconvenience and invasion. Nor would a Huguenot emigration, even of the extent which Mr. Parkman supposes to have been possible, but for the severe policy of Louis XIV, have been as favorable to French interests as that led by the Priests. The Huguenots would not probably have been more just or kind to the savages than their co-religionists, the Puritans. To this day the Indians prefer the impressive paraphernalia of the Romish Church, and the self-sacrificing devotion of its emissaries, to the cold doctrine of the Protestant missionary and his isolation from their habits and life. The one becomes the adopted child of the tribe, the other never loses his foreign character.

Not the least charming of the delightful chapters which make up this volume are those which, touching on the personal history of the gay and hardy Count, open to us some unknown views of the French Court.

BATTLES BY THE REPUBLIC BY SEA
AND LAND, FROM LEXINGTON TO THE CITY
OF MEXICO. By HENRY W. HARRISON. Illustrated with one hundred and fifty engravings. 16mo, pp. 448. Philadelphia (1877).

A new edition of a work published in Philadelphia in 1858, which accounts for there being no mention of the civil war. The field treated is so large however that it admits of little more than a simple narrative of events. The author declared his purpose to be to present a "*coup d'oeil* of American military history by means of lively sketches of the most important battles." Necessary condensation has eliminated much of the anecdote which would have increased the interest of the book; it is, however, still attractive enough to please the young reader. The less said about the illustrations the better.

OVERLAND TALES BY JOSEPHINE
CLIFFORD. 12mo, pp. 383. CLAXTON, REM-
SON & HAFFELGINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

A collection of stories and sketches of journeyings through California, Arizona and New

Mexico, many of which first appeared in the *Overland Monthly*. The crisp, sententious style and sharp character drawing of Bret Harte renders any infringement upon his special line a dangerous experiment, but it will not be denied that the authoress of these has done her work in a creditable and pleasing manner. Her descriptions of nature are true, and her characters lifelike. Now and then familiar personages and recitals seem to claim recognition, but after all in strong types there are always certain points of resemblance. Poker-Jim does not much differ from his fellows, and scenes which wind up with the crack of a revolver closely resemble each other. This kind of literature has a Jack Shepherd and Dick Turpin fascination to many readers, and can hardly be called wholesome, but it presents the truest pictures of frontier and miners' life.

A NARRATIVE OF THE GREAT REVIVAL WHICH PREVAILED IN THE SOUTHERN ARMIES DURING THE LATE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE STATES OF THE FEDERAL UNION. By WILLIAM W. BENNETT, D. D. 12mo, pp. 427. CLAXTON, REMSEN & HAFFELFINGER, Philadelphia, 1877.

The reverend author while expressing no opinion with regard to the Northern soldiers, claims for the South that it was essentially a religious people, and that this feature in their character strongly asserted itself during the civil war. He was Superintendent of one of the Tract Associations during several years of the war, and near its close an army chaplain, and hence had ample opportunities for obtaining authentic information. The Southern troops he claims were strictly native American, who, while they exhibited to a mournful extent the peculiar vices of their race, also manifested its respect and reverence for all the ordinances and institutions of religion. Whiskey was the giant hindrance which stood in the path, and next a wide-spread and cruel spirit of extortion; we use the author's words.

The Southern armies had noble examples in Lee and Jackson, both of whom were eminently religious men; the latter almost a Covenanter in his extreme fervor. Wherever large bodies of men are gathered together in time of excitement and danger the religious sentiment is aroused. It is sad to reflect, however, that its development rarely checks continued indulgence in the worst vices. The volume relates many touching incidents, and will no doubt be a household book in the Southern States.

THE LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by ARTHUR GEORGE KNIGHT, of the Society of Jesus. 16mo, pp. 230. The Catholic Publication Society, New York. 1877.

If we accept the opinion of this author the discovery of America was in a great measure owing to the prayers of Father Perez, the confessor of Queen Isabella, not to herself but to God that he might incline her heart to grant the request of the oft-rebuffed petitioner for the wherewithal to discover a world. It was while the holy Father was praying in the Queen's chapel, close by, that Isabella's eyes were opened and her resolution formed. The one controlling motive in the mind of Columbus is considered to have been his desire to spread the Christian faith beyond the unknown sea. There are many, not of Mr. Knight's way of thinking, who will agree with him that the heart of the navigator was sustained by the upholding hand of a higher power, but who will find it hard to accept the story of the "miraculous cross" set up by the Admiral, which not only worked miracles but although of wood, defied fire and filled up instantaneously by supernatural growth the cavities made by the stone hatchets and knives of the natives.

The advantages of the discovery of America to the old world are undeniable, but that it was of any special benefit to the new is certainly doubtful. Within ten years of the first landing of Columbus more than three-quarters of the native population of the islands had perished, and the remainder soon disappeared. Cortez repeated the same iniquities in Mexico. Our North American Indians are rapidly disappearing; Christianity has not been to them a blessing, and the spirit of its founder had little to do with the actions of the discoverers, however it may have influenced their motives.

The character of Columbus is defended with earnest zeal in this little volume, which well deserves perusal.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BELFAST, IN THE STATE OF MAINE, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1770 TO 1875, by JOSEPH WILLIAMSON. 8vo, pp. 956. LORING, SHORT & HARMON. Portland. 1877.

This is an exhaustive work covering the history of the town at every period, each of which is treated in branches, which the author names proprietary, municipal, ecclesiastical, educational, biographical and statistical. The town of Belfast was originally settled by families of Scotch descent, who in 1719 emigrated from Ulster county, Ireland (hence called Scotch-Irish), where they were embarrassed by forced contributions to the Established Church, from which they dissented. The head of one of these, John Mitchell, was the founder of Belfast. The thrifty and enterprising character of the first settlement has been preserved. The author tells us that this community, not exceeding six thousand inhabitants, sent over eight hundred of its sons to the support of the Union cause in the late

civil war, that it has alone built a railroad costing a million dollars, and that it has twice been destroyed by fire and rebuilt.

It has been said that the potato is the greatest boon the new continent has given to the old. We learn here that these Scotch pioneers first introduced it into New England.

There are copious general and name indices. Nothing of interest about Belfast seems to have been omitted. There is a great variety of illustrations, many excellent, others by some of the wretched unartistic processes which mar so many of our best books.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF PLYMOUTH, LUZERNE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, by HENDRICK B. WRIGHT, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., with twenty-five photographs of the early settlers and present residents of the town of Plymouth; old landmarks; family residences, and places of especial note. Small 8vo, pp. 419. J. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, Philadelphia.

This volume appears to be a reprint of one published in 1873. The author, whose military looking portrait prefaces the volume and who tells us in its first chapter that he "first saw the light of day in Plymouth, April 24th, 1808, has been recently elected to represent his District in Congress." His beginnings in literature are more promising than in legislation, if it be true, as we see announced, that he has just declared his intention of moving that ten millions be appropriated from the United States Treasury to be divided among workingmen. Plymouth was settled in 1768 by the grantees of the Susquehanna Company, two hundred of whom, mostly from New England, took up five townships, of which this was one. Its origin is too recent to be obscure. When the white man first visited these Wyoming lands they were occupied by the Shawnee Indians. The history of the town is traced from this period in a manner easy, entertaining and instructive. The land squabbles of the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania and the Connecticut grantees divided the population into two parties, and resulted in what is termed the "Pennamite Yankee War," which continued till 1799, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania intervened. The Yankees were far from their protectors in Connecticut, but they held sternly to their own.

The Wyoming massacre is graphically recited. Mr. Wright fixes the responsibility for the brutal carnage where it belongs, on Butler, the British officer, and clears the fair fame of Brandt, who was taking scalps elsewhere. The biographical sketches have local interest; the photographic portraits are executed in a style more than usually good.

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS, BY RT. REV. J. L. SPAULDING, D. D., Bishop of Peoria. Small 8vo, pp. 355. The Catholic Publication Society. 1877.

The papers in this volume have nearly all appeared in the *Catholic World*. They are of a religious character and treat of the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Germany. In the first chapter on the Catholic Church in the United States, the author observes the "noteworthy fact that every attempt to establish religion in this country was a failure." As the statement is in no way qualified we suppose the author to mean to establish a church. There is some difference, however, between a religion and a church. The failure to establish a church alone permitted the spread of Romanism in this country. Before the revolution, in nearly every State, Roman Catholics were under both civil and ecclesiastical disabilities. Mr. Spaulding considers us a common-place and mediocre people and as inferior to the nations of Europe. It is quite the fashion in this country to decry ourselves but such a statement as this hardly needs refutation. Through every walk of literature and of science our best men have shown ourselves the equals of the best men of Europe, and our average education as a people is immeasurably above that of either England or Germany, and this notwithstanding the enormous disadvantages to which a crude and ignorant immigration has subjected us. Bishop Spaulding has no love for Germany. He considers her as pagan and intolerant. But German policy is secular; she has not forgotten the thirty years' war, nor the murder of William of Orange, nor the inhumanity of Alba, nor yet that when the march to Berlin began assassination was preached by the priests in the towns and villages of Alsace, and the war declared to be a holy war.

We cannot spare space to review this vigorous and spirited assertion of the ultra Catholic view. We are glad to believe that it does not prevail generally in this country, and that the Catholic is not necessarily either a bigot or illiberal, but that on the contrary his faith and opinions are tempered by the influences of the free society in which he lives.

THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, LL.D., GENERAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT UNDER GEORGE FENWICK TO ITS LATEST PERIOD OF AMITY WITH GREAT BRITAIN PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION; including Description of the Country and many Curious and Interesting Anecdotes, with an Appendix, &c. By a Gentleman of the Province. London, 1731. To which are added additions to the Appendix, Notes and Extracts

from Letters, verifying many important State-ments made by the author, by SAMUEL JARVIS MCCORMICK. 12mo, pp. 285. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1877.

This volume, which has attracted much attention, is a reprint of the celebrated work of the Rev. Dr. Peters, purporting to be a history of Connecticut, which in its original form is extremely rare. With all its peculiarities, and indeed notwithstanding them, it has always been a most readable volume. Its present reappearance seems by the preface of Mr. McCormick to be due to the recent publication by our witty friend, Mr. James Hammond Trumbull, of a volume entitled "The Blue Laws of Connecticut and New Haven and the False Blue Laws invented by the Rev. Samuel Peters," a notice of which we gave in the February number of the Magazine. A recent lively skirmish has been going on in the columns of the Connecticut press, with an occasional stray shot fired in the New York papers, between these two gentlemen, one of whom stands by the honor of his State, while the other vindicates the veracity of the defunct old clergyman. We intend to watch the progress of the fight, without venturing within range of the missiles. As an editor we compliment Mr. McCormick for the make up of the volume and the carefully prepared index, while we regret that he has not seen fit to separate his remarks from the appendix of the Reverend Doctor.

ACCOUNT OF ARNOLD'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC, AND OF THE HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS OF THAT BAND OF HEROES WHO TRAVERSED THE WILDERNESS OF MAINE FROM CAMBRIDGE TO THE ST. LAWRENCE IN THE AUTUMN OF 1775. By JOHN JOSEPH HENRY, one of the survivors. 12mo, pp. 198. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

Mr. Munsell has done another service to historical students, particularly great at this time, when the Canada campaigns are the subject of much investigation, by reproducing the graphic narrative of Judge Henry of the terrible march of Arnold's command through the valleys of the Kennebec and the Chaudière to the attack on Quebec, and the sufferings of the troops. It is prefaced by a memoir of the narrator by a grandson, and a sketch of his life by his daughter. A good index increases its value.

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY: ITS PLACE IN HISTORY. An Address at the Centennial Celebration, August 6, 1877. By ELLIS H. ROBERTS. 8vo, pp. 66. Utica, 1877.

The oration delivered by the eloquent and accomplished member of Congress from Oneida County on this most interesting occasion. The incidents of the battle summer of 1777, including the adoption of the State Constitution at Kingston, the contest in the Mohawk Valley, the battle near Bennington, the surrender of Burgoyne and the defence of the Highlands form a series of events of great importance in our history. Never has there been such a revival of patriotic interest in the details of the revolutionary struggle as in New York this summer and fall. It is said that over twenty thousand persons passed over the Central railroad on the occasion of this brilliant celebration. Mr. Roberts has added some valuable documents in an appendix to his pamphlet.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. CHAUNCEY M.

DEPEW, DELIVERED AT KINGSTON, JULY 30, 1877, AT THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE FORMATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. 8vo, pp. 23. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany, 1877.

Our readers will find here a careful and critical account of the Constitution adopted in the turmoil of war by the State of New York. Mr. Depew was followed by General George H. Sharpe in an interesting local description of the old town of Esopus, which we hope may soon appear in a permanent form.

THE BURGOWNE CAMPAIGN. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON THE BATTLEFIELD ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH CELEBRATION OF THE BATTLE OF BEMIS HEIGHTS, SEPTEMBER 19, 1877. By JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS. 8vo, pp. 43. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co., New York, 1877.

The citizens of Saratoga County assembled at Bemis Heights on the 19th September, to commemorate the battles which took place at and near Freeman's Farm on the 19th of September and 7th October, 1777. The gathering was very large. Addresses were delivered by Hon. Martin I. Townsend of Troy and Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer. The present pamphlet is the historic record presented on the occasion. In it will be found a sketch of the operations in Canada which preceded the invasion of New York, and a detailed account of the movements of Burgoyne, closing with his surrender, October 17th. It is the intention of the County Committee to print the entire proceedings.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF MEN ENGAGED

IN IT. By Rev. A. B. MUZZEY, of Cambridge. (Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for October, 1877.) 8vo, pp. 19. DAVID CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1877.

A contribution by a native of Lexington of many interesting traditions, some of which have never before been printed, of this famous skirmish. Such material as this will prove invaluable to future historians.

MEMORIAL SERVICES OF COMMEMORATION DAY HELD IN CANTON, MAY 30, 1877. UNDER THE AUSPICES OF REVERE ENCAMPMENT. POST NO. 94, GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC. 8vo, pp. 31. WILLIAM BENSON, Boston, 1877.

The chief feature of this occasion, better known in New York as "Decoration Day," was the address of Daniel T. V. Huntoon. Its historic value is in a thorough sketch of the Gridley family and of Major-General Richard Gridley, to whom a monument was then dedicated. Gridley was appointed to the command of the First Regiment of Artillery raised in Massachusetts. Mr. Huntoon has gathered many valuable facts connected with the early beginnings of this arm of the service, of which no history has yet been written.

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CITY OF RALEIGH. Centennial Address, Fourth of July, 1876, by Hon. KEMP P. BATTLE, delivered at the request of the Board of Aldermen. 8vo, pp. 71. Raleigh, 1877.

This is another of the historical sketches elicited by the Proclamation of the United States, urging a due celebration of the Centennial of the nation. The observance of the day was quite as general we understand at the South as at the North, but we have seen but few printed accounts of the proceedings. The present pamphlet contains a condensed history of Wake County, North Carolina, and of the migration of the Capital until its final settlement at Raleigh in 1784.

HISTORY OF MADISON COUNTY, STATE OF NEW YORK. By Mrs. L. M. HAMMOND, 8vo, pp. 774. TRUVAIR, SMITH & CO., Syracuse, 1872.

In this volume the capable authoress has brought together a large mass of facts relating to the discovery and settlement of this county. In the first chapter there is an account of the

aborigines. The succeeding fifteen are devoted to the history of the several towns in their order. The work abounds in personal details of the early settlers, unfortunately unavailable to the general reader for the want of an index, which we hope another edition may supply.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCLUDING SOME IMPORTANT FACTS MOSTLY OMITTED IN THE SMALLER HISTORIES DESIGNED FOR GENERAL READING AND FOR ACADEMIES. By JOSIAH W. LEEDS. 8vo, pp. 468. J. B. LIPPINCOTT, Philadelphia, 1877.

The author in a prefatory note announces the distinction between his treatment of historic subjects and that generally adopted. He complains that the histories of wars are made the subject of school tuition to the neglect of those of peace, and he proposes to supply in a measure a knowledge of the "moral loss occasioned by a state of warfare, together with its exceeding expensiveness." The thirty-two chapters of this peculiar volume cover the entire period from the discovery to the administrations of Johnson and Grant. The cruelty of the Spaniards, the duplicity of the French, the barbarities of New England in the Indian wars, the wickedness of the Mexican war that Mr. Gallatin once termed "the only blot on the national escutcheon," and the war of secession are all treated and condemned in turn, and the moral and material losses each occasioned in their day and generation estimated. In the account of the peaceful settlement of the *Alabama* question by arbitration, we find the only cheerful, hopeful passage in the work. The novelty of the authors' mode of treatment must not be supposed to detract from the merit of this work, which we cordially commend, though we still hold to the old theory that war is often a necessary solvent, and that nations which are incapable of its sacrifices are undeserving of the blessings of peace.

THE HISTORY AND LEGAL EFFECT OF BREVETS IN THE ARMIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES FROM THEIR ORIGIN IN 1692 TO THE PRESENT TIME, by JAMES B. FRY, Col. and Asst. Adjt.-Gen. 8vo, pp. 576. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York. 1877.

An admirable volume, which we presume will be found indispensable to every military student as it certainly is an important assistant to the non-professional in historical investigation. We call especial attention to the curious "Memorial for the consideration of the Congress of the United States," which is known as the "Corpus Christi Memorial," from its having been signed

there in 1845 by a large number of army officers. It is remarkable for its vigor of expression and the logic of its conclusions.

The volume contains a Register of Brevets from 1776 to 1812 and from 1812 to the present time.

ADDRESS OF GOV. JAMES L. KEMPER, ON THE FIRST AWARD OF THE JACKSON-HOPE MEDALS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE. Small 4to, pp. 26. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York. 1877.

The surplus of the money raised in England to erect a statue to General Jackson of the Confederate army was directed by Mr. Beresford Hope, M. P., to be invested in a fund for a further memorial; hence the combination of the names Jackson and Hope. The famous Stonewall has a secure place in the heart of Virginia.

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, LEXINGTON, VA. Official register, 1876-1877. Small 4to, pp. 43. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE V. M. I. CADET, ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND ITS PRIVILEGES. Introductory Address to the Corps of Cadets at the Virginia Military Institute on the resumption of the Academic Exercises Sept. 10, 1866, by FRANCIS H. SMITH, LL. D., Superintendent. Small 4to, pp. 52. Lexington, Va. 1873. [No imprint.] D. VAN NOSTRAND.

This institution, from a professional chair in which Jackson marched out with a Corps of Cadets in 1861, and which lost one hundred and seventy-five of its alumni during the war of secession, went to pieces in the contest, but was again revived at its close. We are glad to note the tone of a person so authoritative as its chief officer in regard to the future conduct of the Southern people. They have returned from the appeal to arms, he said, with full purpose to maintain in firm faith their restored relations to the Constitution of the United States.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 119-232. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

An admirable number and of general interest. We are especially interested in a reprint of a

diary of the Moravian Congregation concerning the Occupation of New York City by the British in 1776. Reading the life-like details, we seem almost in the presence of the events recorded. There is a Journal of William Black, Secretary of the Virginia Commission to treat with the Iroquois Indians; an Account of the Pre-Pennian epoch of Pennsylvania on occasion of the presentation of a portrait of Queen Christina to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Besides other papers of historical interest, there are five biographical sketches, prepared for the Congress of Authors.

ADDRESSES TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, N. Y., JUNE 14, 1877. 4to, pp. 43. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

These addresses by Professor Thompson and Mr. McCrary, Secretary at War, and by Major-Generals Hancock and Schofield will be found pleasant reading even by men not military. That of General Hancock is full of practical advice to young graduates.

THE DISCIPLINE AND DRILL OF THE MILITIA, by Major FRANK S. ARNOLD, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Rhode Island. Small 8vo, pp. 120. D. VAN NOSTRAND, New York.

A seasonable publication now that the interest in the militia has been revived by the signal service recently rendered in behalf of law and order. We can pass no opinion on the technical merits of this little volume. There is a condemnation of the practice of shaking hands, which is sure to meet the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States, who under all administrations is peculiarly subject to this inflection, and more especially if a military man.

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY, FROM ITS ORIGIN IN 1746 TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1854. By JOHN MACLEAN, tenth President of the College. 8vo, 2 vols., pp. 414 and 450. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

This thorough and complete history of this famous institution of learning, more familiarly known by the endearing title of Old Princeton, will be joyfully welcomed by a large class of our people, and prove particularly valuable to the governors and professors of our educational establishments from the practical observations of the author upon the working of the different plans

of management and instruction followed since its organization, more than a century ago. Its chapters contain an account of the origin of the college, its design, the charters under which it began its usefulness and a memoir of Governor Belcher, its "Fundator Perficiens," as Mr. Maclean classically terms its first great patron and benefactor; histories of the administrations of the celebrated presidents, from Dickinson to Carnahan, with an account of the author's own inauguration. An admirable name index completes the second volume.

New Jersey and New York City are the well-known centres of Presbyterianism, in numbers, power and influence. To the citizens of New York particularly the college owes its capacity for influence in the present day. There is a Professorship of Belles Letters, founded on a donation of \$25,000 by the late Captain Silas Holmes of New York City; a Professorship of Biblical Instruction, founded on gifts to the amount of \$115,000 by the Lenox family, besides contributions to the amount of \$15,000 from Mr. James Lenox for other purposes. In addition to these, other liberal gifts by the same and by Robert L. and Alexander Stuart for scholarships and other funds, and crowning all the munificent gift of \$116,000 by the late lamented John C. Green, also of New York, for building purposes, and a further gift to pay for the last expenditure incurred of over \$10,000. Truly there is no narrowness in New York liberality.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE

BATTLE OF BENNINGTON, COMPILED FROM THE MOST RELIABLE SOURCES, AND FITLY ILLUSTRATED WITH ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND ENTERTAINING ANECDOTES. Colonel Seth Warner's identity in the first action completely established. By FRANK W. COBURN. 8vo, pp. 72. GEO. E. LITTLEFIELD, Boston, 1877.

This is a careful, impartial and correct account of this brilliant feat of the army which destroyed Burgoyne's hope of living on the country. We are glad to see full justice done to Colonel Warner, whose fortunate arrival on the field with fresh troops at the nick of time, (as Breyman's Yagers were about to fall on Stark's command, scattered in search of what Mr. Coburn calls "desirable property,") saved the day, and turned what might have proved a disgrace into victory.

"UNWRITTEN LAW." AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY AT CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, JUNE 28, 1877. By

THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, of Delaware. 8vo, pp. 47. A. WILLIAMS & CO., Boston, 1877.

To every one who knew Harvard as it was thirty years ago, when the understood, if not openly announced, policy of the college was to discourage the attendance of Southern and even of New York students at her courses of education, the announcement of an address by Mr. Bayard before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the highest compliment known in the University, seemed a stride in the progress of opinion. The "higher law," which found its birth in New England sentiment and its expression on the lips of a New York statesman, is a form of unwritten law. Mr. Seward would have found it more difficult to define it than to express it. The words crystallized a sentiment; gave form to a policy, but nothing more. Mr. Bayard finds something of the same difficulty in his effort to define the intangible something he terms the *unwritten law*. It must not be inferred that he refers to the common law, that combination of precedent and usage, which until superseded by statute law, is supposed to be understood by every one until he consults his lawyer, when he finds it a many sided mirror, which reflects the face of each examiner in turn. Mr. Bayard expressly says he does not mean *lex non scripta*, but the "great moral law written, as Coke said, with the finger of God in the heart of man." It would puzzle a Hudibras lawyer to "distinguish and divide" between the meanings intended by the two statesmen, Mankind is in accord upon the fundamental principle of morals, but their methods of application differ widely.

Notwithstanding this vagueness, which is no doubt inherent in the subject, Mr. Bayard's address is philosophical in its reasonings and charming in treatment. It is pervaded with that genial warmth and well-bred amenity for which this accomplished gentleman is so distinguished, and for that broad spirit which he, with many of his class, has shown since his emancipation, through the emancipation of his party, from the trammels which hampered his action in his younger days.

THE CINCINNATI, WITH THE BY-LAWS, RULES, ETC., OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 78. New York. 1876.

Of the thirteen State Societies of the Cincinnati, which at one time gave such umbrage to our people as an aristocratic and exclusive order, only six, those of Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina remain, the rest are extinct; of these the archives of all but New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island have been lost.

This pamphlet gives the Constitution and By-laws of the Society and of the State Society of New Jersey, of which Elias Dayton was the first President, and a Roll of original and hereditary members, in which many valuable biographical details are included.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF CHOSEN FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF PASSAIC FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 9, 1877. Annual Report of the County Collector for the year 1876-7. 8vo, pp. 58, and appendix IX. Paterson, N. J. 1877.

We invite attention to the appendix, in which will be found a census of Paterson, July 4, 1827, made by the Rev. Samuel Fisher, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Paterson at that time, from the original manuscript. Some of our readers may be glad to have this information.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY FROM JUNE 16, 1775, TO AUGUST 15, 1876. Compiled under the direction of the Commissary-General of Subsistence by JOHN W. BARRIGER, Major and Commissary of Subsistence. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 113 and Index xv. Government Printing Office, Washington. 1877.

This is quite a valuable contribution to army history. It is divided into three chapters, noting severally the various orders issued, with commentaries upon them. I. From June 16, 1775 to March 4, 1789. II. From March 4, 1789 to March 4, 1815. III. From March 4, 1815 to August 15, 1876. The Index carefully supplements the whole.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS, by M. ALMY ALDRICH, from official reports and other documents. Compiled by Captain RICHARD S. COLLUM. D. VAN NOSTRAND, NEW YORK.

This continues to be the best book on the subject. It gives a history of the services of this corps from its organization in November, 1775. Its various services on sea and land in every quarter of the globe and at home in efficient support of the national authority and of public order when their aid was invoked, are related in a manner which makes it a welcome book in circles far wider than that for which it was written. It includes a Register of officers from 1798 to 1875.

"EASTWARD HO!" OR LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A CENTENNIAL PILGRIM, being a Truthful Account of a Trip to the Centennial City via Washington, and the Return via Niagara Falls, with a graphic description of the Exhibition itself. By DAVID BAILEY, Teacher. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 89.

The title of this volume gives a fair idea of the contents of this readable volume, in which there is much to interest though little new. It is always pleasing to note how that even which is familiar to ourselves strikes another mind. The style is that of one who, having taken an excursion ticket, intends that it shall cover all that the word implies. It is certain that these rapid *coup d'oeils* have not a value equal to that of careful examination. Let each reader who has visited Europe consider how few of the thousand churches he has seen remain impressed on his memory. Mr. Bailey recites his visit to the Exhibition in the same business like manner that he describes his journey in the cars. Everything did not please him in Philadelphia. Some of the pictures were not to his taste, but considering the atrocious character of the illustrations to his own volume we suspend our judgment. We sympathize more fully in his poor appreciation of Philadelphia heat. Who that experienced the terrors of the three days of July can ever forget it? We left the torrid place with a higher respect than ever for our patriot fathers, who had independence enough to declare anything in such a place and such weather. If this be treason, make the most of it.

GENERAL HISTORY OF DUCHESS COUNTY, FROM 1609 TO 1876, INCLUSIVE. Illustrated with numerous Wood Cuts, Maps and full-page Engravings. By PHILIP H. SMITH. 8vo, pp. 508. Published by the author. Pawling, New York, 1877.

A great deal has been done in a desultory way by Lossing and others towards the history of this historical county. The many contributions of Mr. Lossing alone to the local press of Poughkeepsie would make an interesting volume, and fill a gap much felt by students of history, and we hoped to see them brought together soon.

Mr. Smith has done a good work in collecting material from various sources and bringing it together in an accessible form. The work includes an outline map, which seems to be, as the author claims, unusually complete and numerous. The wood-cuts are all the author's own handiwork. The volume is rich in personal and biographical detail, and bears abundant proof of industry and care.